

E. A. BERGMAN



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SOPER, COLLINS, PRIESTLEY

Answer questions on

CND and the Election

Peace News Reporter

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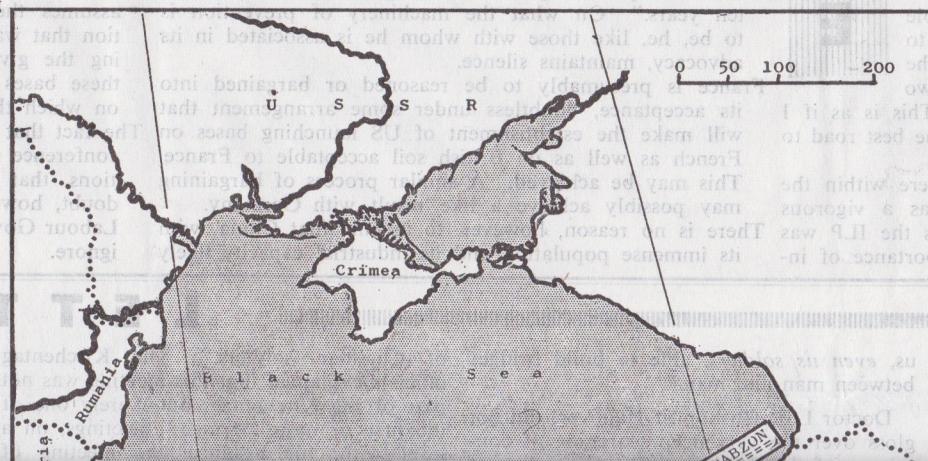
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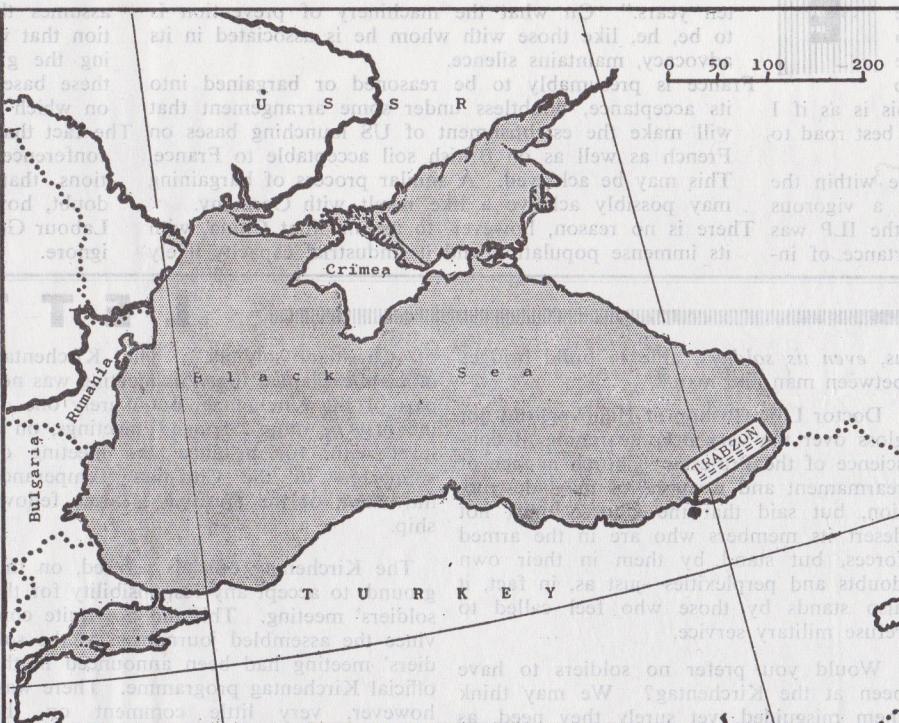
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It carries a ten-page supplement of extracts from the Devlin Report. He said that the Report (which did not accept the Government's "massacre plot" story) sells officially in Blantyre as 10s. a copy—about half an African's average weekly wage. And it is almost impossible to find a copy there.

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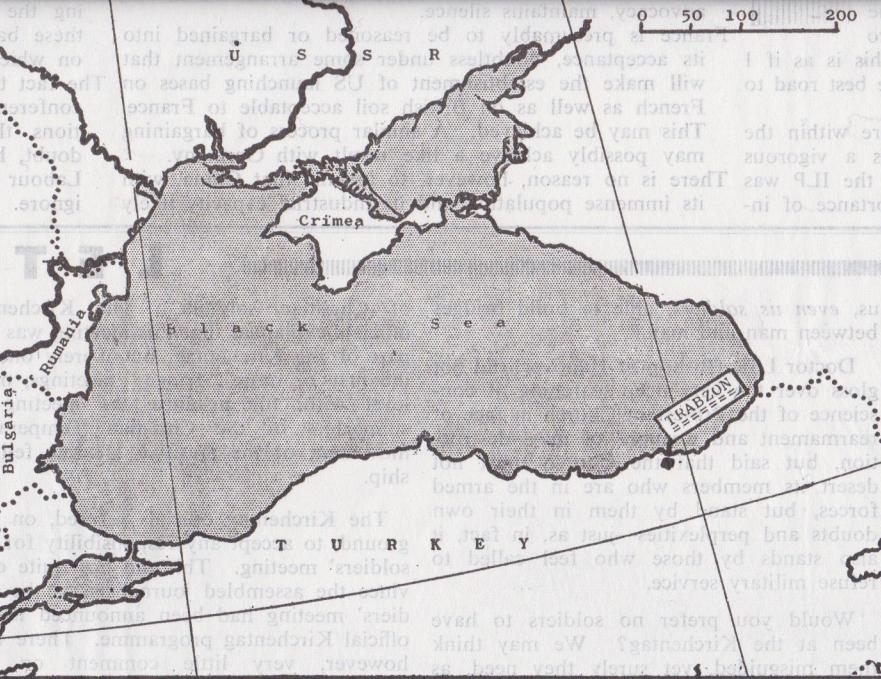
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Reporter: What result of the General Election would you take as an endorsement of your movement's success?

Canon Collins: I shall not be particularly disturbed one way or the other. We have not yet got to striking power politically.

The police, Canon Collins told the press, had been most co-operative in plans for the big marches taking place next weekend, although there were two exceptions.

In Crawley and Bournemouth, the Campaign had been refused permission to march over the routes planned. Protests were being made against what amounted to a banning of the two marches.



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The Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Robert Armitage, invoking the Emergency Regulations, declared the paper "prejudicial to public security, public order, and the maintenance of essential services."

Few Africans have had the chance to read the Devlin Report, a correspondent in

a recent Reynolds News reported.

He said that the Report (which did not accept the Government's "massacre plot" story) sells officially in Blantyre as 10s. a copy—about half an African's average weekly wage. And it is almost impossible to find a copy there.

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"What is needed is a strong public opinion, based not upon fear of the consequences of using the bomb, but upon a conscientious objection to its use," visitors to the Farnborough Air Display and Missile Exhibition were told in leaflets given away there last week. The leaflet, "The Challenge of the H-bomb," is now being so widely distributed that the Peace Pledge Union are printing a further 20,000 copies. Supplies may be obtained from them at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

A call to the Government to introduce legislation against racist propaganda was made in a statement issued recently by the Inter-Racial Friendship Co-ordinating Council (374 Gray's Inn Rd., London, W.C.1).

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Would the bald announcement at the opening ceremony that this was a "new outpost of Moscow's defensive system" convince the Pentagon there was no cause for alarm?

This incredible provocation in Turkey is part of the nightmare world in which we live, where night and day plans are systematically developed which lead straight to extinction. They could come to fruition at any time.

Today Trabzon is not in the news. But how long will it be before this Turkey comes home to roost?

Attlee and Hiroshima

MR. ATTLEE was the British Prime Minister when the A-bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Now, as Lord Attlee, he has taken the occasion of the publication of a book on the subject ("The Great Decision," by Michael Amrine) to make it clear that the "British" decision to agree to this action did not rest with him. He had only recently become Prime Minister, and his predecessor, Mr. Winston Churchill, had already indicated agreement on behalf of Britain.

We presume that Mr. Churchill (as he was then) consulted his Cabinet on a matter of this importance, that Mr. Attlee was a member of that Cabinet, and that presumably therefore he had already given his consent.

Lord Attlee finds the same justification for these hideous atrocities as does Mr. Truman: if there had not been this cruel slaughter of men, women and children and the scores of thousands of deformed bodies and spoiled lives at Hiroshima and Nagasaki there might have been a million deaths or more in the continuation of the war.

Although this claim has been frequently challenged, we do not think there would be any great point in arguing the matter from this standpoint. Most atrocities in war, from whichever side they come, are represented as acts of mercy by those who perpetuate them. After all, Lord Attlee, like Sir Winston and Mr. Truman, need to be able to sleep at night, and they will hold on to a belief that helps them in this. They are not, it seems, so sensitive as the poor souls who were instructed to implement their decision.

What we find extraordinary is the mystification expressed by Lord Attlee regarding this fact: steps were taken to find out the views of the scientists and technicians responsible for the development of the Bomb as to whether their work should be used for the destruction of the populations of two Japanese cities. Lord Attlee remarks: "This is as if I should ask the makers of my motor-car the best road to York."

Now Lord Attlee's beginnings in politics were within the Independent Labour Party when this was a vigorous political body, and of all political Parties the ILP was always most concerned regarding the importance of in-

dividual conscience in relation to war. It says a lot about the blunting effects of the exercise of great power over the lives of men and women that he is now unable to see that the views of the scientists whose work had been responsible for the A-bomb had anything to do with it.

The defending counsel at the Nuremberg trials of defeated war leaders would have found Lord Attlee's aphorism about the car and the road of use to them if he had happened to pronounce it earlier.

Labour policy . . .

THE British Trades Union Congress has endorsed the joint declaration of the TUC and Labour Party Executives on the H-bomb. In the absence of a Labour Party Conference, the TUC has thus confirmed that it is on this policy—the "non-nuclear club" proposal—that the Labour Party submits itself to the electors.

The striking thing about this debate, as for that matter about the expositions of this policy in general, is the unwillingness of those propounding it to discuss the detail of its implementation.

The policy was produced immediately after the conference of the Municipal and General Workers' Union had called for unilateral nuclear disarmament. It has been inferred, therefore, that the main object of the Labour Party and TUC Executives was to side-track the growing support for unconditional renunciation of the H-bomb, which was also illustrated by the size of the second Aldermaston march. The absence of any discussion on the way the proposal will need to be implemented suggests that this is probably the true explanation.

. . . vague and . . .

THE advocates of the "non-nuclear club" prefer to leave everything vague, except the indication that Britain should be ready to join the club if it could be formed. Mr. Carron, in seconding the motion at the TUC last week, remarked that such an arrangement was the only practical way of preventing "a rush of a dozen countries producing nuclear weapons during the next ten years." On what the machinery of prevention is to be, he, like those with whom he is associated in its advocacy, maintains silence.

France is presumably to be reasoned or bargained into its acceptance, doubtless under some arrangement that will make the establishment of US launching bases on French as well as on British soil acceptable to France. This may be achieved. A similar process of bargaining may possibly achieve a like result with Germany.

There is no reason, however, to assume that China, with its immense population and its industrial capacity likely

to increase year by year, should commit itself to dispense with the H-bomb permanently while the USA and Russia are to retain it, simply as the price of keeping America's allies without it. The Labour Party proposal, at the best, merely means that it is prepared to advocate the non-nuclear club until such time as the Chinese Government rejects the proposal, whereupon the Party can dispense with the plan.

Mr. Ernest Jones, of the National Union of Mineworkers, speaking for the official policy, said that the world was faced with the threat that within ten years at least 26 countries would be capable of producing their own nuclear bombs. What is never made clear is what is to be done about those that claim an equal right with the USA and Russia to make them.

Should, say, Egypt decide, as did Britain previously, that its power and prestige, or its need to be able to deter aggression, require that it should have the H-bomb, what is to be done about it? Is it to be prevented by the use of the military might of the two Powers that are to have the exclusive right to the possession of the Bomb?

This is what seems to be implied in the idea of the non-nuclear club, but if this is what is intended it should be made explicit. Only then can we contemplate the full consequences of what is being proposed. Such a development would have other consequences for the world outside the USA and USSR than the prevention of such nations becoming H-bomb states.

. . . unrealistic

THE non-nuclear club plan, with the rest of British policy left as it is, means that Britain will function on a somewhat different basis within the NATO structure. Its resources devoted to nuclear weapons would be directed to other military purposes, and the US launching bases in Britain will be held to be not less but more essential.

The Labour Party pronouncements regarding the American bases have always been very half-hearted and limited to a call for the halting of additions to them pending "Summit" talks. Now even such "opposition" has been abandoned in the non-nuclear club proposal, which assumes the continuance of these bases. The resolution that was also passed at the TU Congress condemning the giving of permission for the establishment of these bases is completely incompatible with the policy on which the non-nuclear club conception is founded.

The fact that the two resolutions were passed at the same conference is evidence of the unreality of the considerations that governed the voting. There will be no doubt, however, about which of the two declarations a Labour Government would act upon and which it would ignore.

LETTERS

Kirchentag

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Kirchentag

YOUR report in Peace News of Aug. 28 gives an extremely unfair and misleading impression of the Munich "Kirchentag," which I was privileged to attend this year.

I heard again and again expressions of pleasure that so many young people were there, and among them so many members of the army; one of my companions, himself a member of the "1922 group" of which Heinz Kraschutski writes on Sept. 4, and very much against the increased militarisation of Germany because of his wartime experience, was delighted that soldiers had been encouraged to come, with the support of their superiors and the heads of state. What a difference between this and the Hitler regimes, and what a contrast to the present state of affairs in East Germany, which West German Protestants are not likely to forget!

Was the theme of the special gathering of soldiers "God loves a soldier"? I can see no reference to this in the reports before me, but even if this is, in fact, accurate, it should be taken in the context of the whole Kirchentag, whose theme was "Ye shall be my people," and like a thread of light running through the gatherings was "God is the God of the whole world." Especially at the vast concluding assembly (with an estimated attendance of 350—500,000 people) special stress was laid on reconciliation—between the older and younger generations, between Catholic and Protestant, between East and West Germany, and between the peoples of Europe and those of Africa and Asia.

Moreover, in the meeting of soldiers stress was laid (by Vice-Chancellor Erhard) on the common allegiance to Christ of everyone present, from junior recruits to Government Ministers, on their common duty and responsibility to God—not, firstly, to commanding officers and the State. General Heusinger said "Christianity makes

us, even us soldiers, able to build bridges between man and man."

Doctor Lilje (Bishop of Hanover) did not gloss over the very deep searching of conscience of the Protestant Church in face of rearmament and weapons of mass destruction, but said that the Church must not desert its members who are in the armed forces, but stand by them in their own doubts and perplexities—just as, in fact, it also stands by those who feel called to refuse military service.

Would you prefer no soldiers to have been at the Kirchentag? We may think them misguided, yet surely they need, as much as any citizen of West Germany, the great encouragement of feeling themselves to be members of this vast and active Church, visibly and powerfully witnessing to its faith in Christ as its one Head, and its unity with His followers in every land.

—JOYCE BLAKE, 12 Vernon St., Derby.

Björn Hallstrom, *Skansa Dagbladet* correspondent, who attended the Kirchentag and on whose report Peace News based its comments, writes:

THE presence of a number of German soldiers in uniform struck a somewhat discordant note as it ran contrary to the general theme of the whole Kirchentag. Many of the German participants expressed their disapproval. So did many "outsiders" among the general public in Munich.

The absence of such personalities as Dean Grüber and Dr. Niemöller was explained as due to other reasons, but those explanations could not remove the impression (which was quite common) that they had stayed away because of the presence of the soldiers.

There was a heated discussion at one of the Kirchentag Press conferences about the soldiers meeting in the Löwenbräu Keller where General Heusinger and a few West German Ministers spoke about the "duty

of Christian soldiers." The Kirchentag officials explained that this meeting was not part of the Kirchentag, but merely one of the fifty or more "fringe" meetings, on a level with, for instance, the meeting of supporters of the Christian Temperance movement or the Spiritual Healing fellowship.

The Kirchentag officials refused, on this ground, to accept any responsibility for the soldiers' meeting. This did not quite convince the assembled journalists, as the soldiers' meeting had been announced in the official Kirchentag programme. There was, however, very little comment on the matter, probably because the attack on the Press conference was led by an East German representative. The other journalists felt that it was not for an East German to speak on such matters, since the militarisation in East Germany is more advanced than in West Germany.

Incidentally, the main objection on the part of the East German Government to the unity of the German church is that the military chaplains of the West German army are recognised as part of the church. This the East German Government cannot accept. There are, of course, no military chaplains in the East German army. Instead, there are official textbooks and courses in atheism for East German soldiers, as I have seen on a visit to East Germany.)

I asked at the office of the Kirchentag about the participation of the soldiers and learned that they had been advised by their officers—with the approval of the ecclesiastical authorities—to appear in uniform. The reason for this was "to make the uniform popular again." The official with whom I spoke was anxious to add: "But the new army is a peaceful army and has nothing in common with the old army."

A very great number of the Kirchentag participants seemed to be of another opinion. They shook their heads whenever

LETTERS

a soldier passed, and said: "Is this necessary?"

I met a few British and American soldiers, stationed in Germany, who took part in the Kirchentag—in civilian clothes. The Germans, however, apparently felt the urge to display their uniforms. This is a sad fact which we must face.

The participation of the soldiers was, as Peace News stated, generally regarded as a discordant note in the Kirchentag whose general theme was that of reconciliation. A very large number of the participants took every opportunity to manifest their opposition to militarism. There was loud applause whenever any statement against atomic bombs and rearmament was made. The "fringe" of the Kirchentag comprised also some anti-war plays in Munich theatres which drew large audiences and were well received. I remember especially a play by

★ ON PAGE THREE

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THE ELECTION: How they are preparing

PLAID CYMRU (the Welsh Party) will be putting up twenty candidates at the coming General Election.

Among these will be Gwynfor Evans, the President of the Party and a member of the Peace Pledge Union (Merioneth); Christopher Rees, who contested the last election from jail where he was serving a twelve-month sentence for refusing to be conscripted (Swansea); The Rev. Eirwyn Morgan, a member of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union (Llanelli); Waldo Williams, whose goods were seized when he refused to pay taxes because a high proportion were used on armaments (Pembrokeshire); and Dr. D. Alun Jones, who worked in atomic research but left on grounds of conscience (West Denbigh).

clear resolution

The main points in Plaid Cymru's programme are: (1) Self-government for Wales, (2) Unilateral nuclear disarmament, (3) The establishing of a co-operative democracy, (4) The ending of colonialism in all parts of the world.

The Party's position on the H-bomb was put in a resolution on international policy at its annual conference this year. The resolution said "The Plaid Cymru Government will refuse to help any country make, test or use nuclear weapons and will not attempt to do such things itself. It believes any reliance on nuclear weapons to be morally wrong, physically dangerous to ourselves as well as others (if not, indeed, completely suicidal) and also to future generations, and a complete waste of money and energy which could be spent by improving living conditions at home and in the more unfortunate parts of the world."

At least twenty-three members of the Labour Peace Fellowship will be contesting the Election as **Labour Party** candidates.

They include several members of the present Parliament, Emrys Hughes, Fenner Brockway, Leslie Hale, Reg Moss, George Thomas, Joyce Butler, Walter Monslow, Frank Allaun and George Craddock. Other members of the Fellowship who will be contesting the election are Anne Clark

Ludwig Thoma, written after the 1870/71 war, in which the anti-war dialogues were applauded during the actual performance.

As a neutral observer and a pacifist I

will be putting up twenty candidates at (Twickenham), Fred Barton (Middleton and Prestwich), and Frank McManus (Morecambe and Lonsdale).

The Independent Labour Party is contesting the Walthamstow East constituency. The candidate is Bill Christopher, who contested West Ham at a by-election in 1957 for the ILP.

Bill Christopher fully supports the ILP demand that Britain should disarm now, whatever other countries do, and so set an example which might end the drift towards a Third World War. This action would involve leaving NATO and all other military alliances and it would also set free vast resources which could be used for adequate pensions, a living wage for all workers, and far greater assistance to the peoples of the under-developed countries.

decentralisation

The ILP also hopes to put up a candidate in a Glasgow constituency.

The Common Wealth Party hope to have a candidate in Oxford, Douglas Stuckey.

The main points in Common Wealth's programme are: 1, unilateral disarmament; 2, decentralisation of power; 3, the development of a neutral group of nations outside the present power blocs.

Ronald Mallone, BA, is to contest the south-east London constituency of West Woolwich on the pacifist issue as the **Fellowship Party's** first candidate. He has appealed for support, especially for canvassers, from his headquarters at 141 Woolacombe Road, Kidbrooke, S.E.3. (Tel: LEE 6249.)

He has been engaged in peace activities since he joined the League of Nations Union and worked for the Peace Ballot at the age of 15. Professor Coulson of Oxford University has sent him a message of support.

His headquarters can be reached via Kidbrooke Station (SR) or by 70 and 108a bus. Lady Clare Annesley is Hon. Treasurer of the Election Fund, launched from the office

I have been slogging at this task for some years within the pacifist movement with, I am afraid, scant success. I hope Fenner Brockway fares better within the ILP.

of the National Agent, Robert Walsh, 154 Droop Street, London, W.10.

"If you cannot vote for peace, you can still be a worker for peace," says a leaflet made available this week from the headquarters of the **Peace Pledge Union**.

The leaflet points out that:

1. All the major political parties are committed to NATO, "a military organisation involved . . . in preparation . . . for war, not peace."

2. There is very little difference between the foreign policies of the Parties.

3. It is not possible to maintain a first-class Welfare State and engage in massive war preparation.

4. Britain's "paltry gift of an extra £100,000 for World Refugee Year as compared with £1,514,130,000 allocated to armaments is an example of where the emphasis of Britain's expenditure is laid."

"None of this is likely to be mentioned in the Election speeches. If it is, and if any protest against it is made, perhaps you may have a candidate worth your vote. If it is not mentioned you should raise it," the leaflet urges.

Supplies of the leaflet may be obtained from 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is preparing a list of

questions which its members can put to candidates.

The Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War does not intend to pursue a Voters' Veto campaign during the election, says a statement issued by the Committee this week. The reasons for this are: 1, recent developments in the Trade Union movement; 2, the fact that "some members of the Committee are doubtful about Voters' Veto for reasons which have divided members of the Campaign."

The Committee intends, however, to go on asking MPs to defy the party whip over the H-bomb and asking all candidates to define publicly their position before they are elected.

Supporters of the Committee are urged to "give all the help they can, including their votes, to any unilateralist candidate who is pledged to vote against the H-bomb and the defence estimates."

One of Direct Action's full-time workers, Will Warren, is acting as an election agent for a unilateralist candidate, Laurence Daly, who is standing in West Fife. Daly, who is a local miner, is campaigning on a programme of unilateral nuclear disarmament, public ownership and higher living standards, and home rule for Scotland's internal affairs.

To be concluded next week

THE CONQUEST OF SPACE

By Geoffrey Carnall

NOW that the Russians have actually hit the moon, and Soviet penants are fluttering in a lunar breeze from the Sea of Tranquillity, we are no doubt one stage closer to the time when our conflicts can be fought out in the solar system.

Necessity is the mother of invention. Ever since the Americans exploded a hydrogen bomb equal to 750 primitive atom bombs it has been clear that the earth is too small a theatre for war on such a scale. A planet which measures only 25,000 miles round its equator obviously cramps the style of nuclear generals. Now they really will have enough elbow room.

A sour way to greet an innocent scientific

beware. If you can't get to the moon, and the other man can, he may (who knows?) be able to use his advantage against you. A great deal of scientific work is driven on by this horror of falling behind, of failing to keep an edge on competitors. Examples in the business world are obvious enough. There is a sense in which the benefits which science has given to the human race have been

Geoffrey Carnall, who is to contribute this new monthly column to Peace News on current affairs, is Lecturer in English at Belfast University. He is 32. He worked with the Friends' Service Council in India and Pakistan from 1948-50. The Oxford University Press is to publish his book

the more unfortunate parts of the world."

At least twenty-three members of the Labour Peace Fellowship will be contesting the Election as **Labour Party** candidates.

They include several members of the present Parliament, Emrys Hughes, Fenner Brockway, Leslie Hale, Reg Moss, George Thomas, Joyce Butler, Walter Monslow, Frank Allaun and George Craddock. Other members of the Fellowship who will be contesting the election are Anne Clark

LEE 6249.)

He has been engaged in peace activities since he joined the League of Nations Union and worked for the Peace Ballot at the age of 15. Professor Coulson of Oxford University has sent him a message of support.

His headquarters can be reached via Kidbrooke Station (SR) or by 70 and 108a bus. Lady Clare Annesley is Hon. Treasurer of the Election Fund, launched from the office

Ludwig Thoma, written after the 1870/71 war, in which the anti-war dialogues were applauded during the actual performance.

As a neutral observer and a pacifist I had the impression that the soldiers' meeting was a sad interlude in the Kirchentag, but that it was no more than an interlude which could not diminish the importance of the Kirchentag as an event in the activisation of the laity in the task of bringing their Christian faith to bear in their everyday life. This is, in itself, of great significance in Germany where the Church has for so long (before Hitler's days) identified itself with the secular power of the day.

Post-war Asia

I GREATLY appreciated Fenner Brockway's article of August 28 in which he described the revolt of an awakened section of Eastern opinion against "Western material power and the values of Western capitalism" and in favour of simple living and a broader human culture, also his wish that Africa would give us "an example of a happy spontaneous democracy."

It may well be that this will happen, but why wait for Africa to give us an example of a way of life we ought ourselves to be pursuing and indeed presenting to the "under-developed countries"?

Further, why does Fenner Brockway condemn only "the values of Western capitalism," when in fact those values have been accepted by Labour? The dual activities of getting and spending money dominate the lives of the great majority of our society today, who thus expect to satisfy all their needs with cash. The culture of human personality, which must be the basis of "a happy spontaneous democracy" depends mainly upon creative self-expression, a right to which only a minority have title today. It is the failure to give that right to the great masses of modern society that practically all the evils which he names are mainly due. So why not start the new revolution in Britain, and within the Labour Party, and indeed within the pacifist movement?

I have been slogging at this task for some years within the pacifist movement with, I am afraid, scant success. I hope Fenner Brockway fares better within the Labour Party! However, one thing I am sure we both clearly realise, namely, that if the East and Africa accept and develop the devouring propensities of Western materialism, the spiritual condition necessary to world peace will be non-existent.—**WILFRED WELLOCK, Orchard Lea, New Longton, Preston.**

Fenner Brockway, MP, writes:

Wilfred Wellock is of course quite right. The motive of personal gain and riches extends to all sections of the community and to members of the Labour Party. Those who were present at my birthday party at the House of Commons will remember that I stressed this as one of the factors retarding Socialism. But I was quite right to describe this in my article as a motive of Western Capitalism. It is the opposite of Socialism, and it is sad that the Movement has been compromised by it.

NEXT WEEK

In his article on The New Left which we publish on page eight, Edward Thompson describes the mood of the young people in Britain who have joined the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. As Thompson points out, this rebellious mood is not confined to the young people of this country.

In other countries, however, the protest has taken rather different forms. Next week, in an article on the Beat Generation, Douglas Gorsline will describe the protest of young Americans against the society they live in.

TICKETS NOT 2s.

Tickets are free, not 2s. each, as announced recently in Peace News, for the Peace Pledge Union Conference of members working for nuclear disarmament.

ally hit the moon, and Soviet pennants are fluttering in a lunar breeze from the Sea of Tranquillity, we are no doubt one stage closer to the time when our conflicts can be fought out in the solar system.

Necessity is the mother of invention. Ever since the Americans exploded a hydrogen bomb equal to 750 primitive atom bombs it has been clear that the earth is too small a theatre for war on such a scale. A planet which measures only 25,000 miles round its equator obviously cramps the style of nuclear generals. Now they really will have enough elbow room.

A sour way to greet an innocent scientific advance? Well, yes. It betrays the irritability of the citizen of a small state which is incapable of this sort of feat. It is tainted with superstitious fears of science as a Frankenstein monster. It takes no account of the useful discoveries which space travel may bring. Its easy cynicism hardly disguises the death-wish which comes from finding the stress of modern life too much to bear. I admit all this. But even so there really is something about the conquest of space which ought to worry any reasonable human being.

Most people will agree, of course, with the view that we have far more scientific knowledge, far more power over nature, than we can safely handle. It has been a platitude for a century and a half, and is now so worn out with repetition that even elder statesmen avoid it. One can only discuss the question usefully in connection with particular cases, with a lot of specific evidence. But I'll risk making one general point. It is about the motives for getting this dangerous power over nature—especially the so-called "prestige" motives, the prestige you get from having made your own H-bangs. (Ask Mr. Macmillan and President de Gaulle about this.)

Some sentimentalists argue that prestige is best obtained by helping underdeveloped countries, or even by producing great musicians, novelists and poets. But this is a mistake. The word "prestige" originally meant an illusion, a conjuring trick, a deception, an imposture, a sorcery, something to dazzle the eyes of the crowd. It is a very proper word to use of the effect made by sending up rockets and exploding bombs.

Not that these things are impostures. They are a symbol of something real enough. They are evidence of power; they reassure their possessors, and bid rivals

and the other man can, he may (who knows?) be able to use his advantage against you. A great deal of scientific work is driven on by this horror of falling behind, of failing to keep an edge on competitors. Examples in the business world are obvious enough. There is a sense in which the benefits which science has given to the human race have been

Geoffrey Carnall, who is to contribute this new monthly column to Peace News on current affairs, is Lecturer in English at Belfast University. He is 32. He worked with the Friends' Service Council in India and Pakistan from 1948-50. The Oxford University Press is to publish his book "Robert Southey and His Age" in the near future.

quite incidental to its main purpose. The greatest pressure has come from a struggle for power.

There is no reason why this struggle should ever end—except that the human organism may not be able to stand it, especially if the planet Earth comes to be regarded as expendable. There is some rather depressing evidence that our nervous systems are finding the strain too much (Dr. Harrison Matthews' paper at the British Association a couple of weeks ago is of interest here)—and I find particularly worrying the appetite of the British public for novels about Ultimate Disaster.

Fortunately there are also signs of constructive attempts to come to grips with our situation. Instead of yielding to the fear of other people, there is an increasing interest in why we are afraid, and whether anything can be done about it. Far more money is spent on the physical sciences than on the social sciences, but at least there are social sciences. Far more money is spent on national military budgets than on the budget of the UN and its agencies, but at least there is a UN. The stage is now set for a few fairly wealthy nations to reverse these priorities. And when you compare the apathy of public opinion at the time of Acland's defeat at Gravesend in 1955 with the strength of the anti-nuclear campaign now it almost makes one optimistic.

All effective revolutionary movements have used, in one form or other, Gandhi's words to the British: "Get off our backs." When we are no longer burdened by a nuclear weapons budget we shall have more energy to spare for finding out how people can live together without blowing themselves into outer space.

A SONG ABOUT MAJOR EATHERLY

By John Wain ★

The following comments appeared in "The Listener," where this poem was published recently after a broadcast in the BBC's Third Programme.

This poem about Major Eatherly was suggested by, and is based on, a few lines John Wain read in a newspaper describing the contents of a book called "Formula for Death, E=MC2 (The Atom Bombs and After)" by Fernand Gigon (translated from the French by Constantine Fitz Gibbon, published by Allan Wingate.) The book describes how Major Claude R. Eatherly, pilot of the aircraft which carried the second bomb to Nagasaki, later started having nightmares. His wife is quoted as saying: "He often jumps up in the middle of the night and screams out in an inhuman voice which makes me feel ill; 'Release it, release it!'" According to Gigon, Major Eatherly began to suffer "brief moments of madness." The doctors diagnosed "extreme nervous depression," and Eatherly was awarded a pension of \$237 a month. "He seems to have regarded this pension as a premium for murder, as a payment for what had been done to the two Japanese cities, for he never touched the money." He took to "petty thievery," and later was "taken from Waco Military Hospital to Fort Worth prison."

I
Good news. It seems he loved them after all.
His orders were to fry their bones to ash.
He carried up the bomb and let it fall.
And then his orders were to take the cash,
A hero's pension. But he let it lie.
It was in vain to ask him for the cause.
"Simply that if he touched it he would die."
He fought his own, and not his country's wars.

His orders told him he was not a man:
An instrument, fine-tempered, clear of stain,
All fears and passions closed up like a fan:
No more volition than his aeroplane.

But now he fought to win his manhood back.
Steep from the sunset of his pain he flew
Against the darkness in that last attack.
It was for love he fought, to make that true.

To take life is always to die a little: to stop
any feeling and moving contrivance, however ugly,
unnecessary, or hateful, is to reduce by so much the

II

total
of life there is. And that is to die a little.

with his rank blood, and on their tongues his bone
being splintered, feels uncomfortably sharp.

Since death is camped among us, wish him joy.
Invite him to our tables and our games.

So once Major Eatherly hated the Japanese.

We cannot judge, but we can still destroy:

And so the curtains of the mind were drawn.

Men conjured hell a first, a second time:

And Major Eatherly took off at dawn.

Hell is a furnace; so the wise men taught.

The punishment for sin is to be broiled.

A glowing coal for every sinful thought.

The heat of God's great furnace ate up sin,

Which whispered up in smoke or fell in ash:

So that each hour a new hour could begin.

III
So fire was holy, though it tortured souls.

The sinners' anguish never ceased, but still

Their sin was burnt from them by shining coals.

Hell fried the criminal but burnt the crime,

Purged where it punished, healed where it destroyed:

It was a stove that warmed the rooms of time.

No man begrimed the flames their appetite.

All were afraid of fire, yet none rebelled.

The wise men taught that hell was just and right.

"The soul desires its necessary dread;

Only among the thorns can patience weave

A bower where the mind can make its bed."

Even the holy saints whose patient jaws

Chewed bitter rind and hands raised up the dead

IV

Suppose a sea-bird,

its wings stuck down with oil, riding the waves

in no direction, under the storm-clouds, helpless,

lifted for an instant by each moving billow

to scan the meaningless horizon, helpless,

helpless, and the storms coming, and its wings dead,

its bird-nature dead:

imagine this castaway,

loved, perhaps, by the Creator, and yet abandoned,

mocked by the flashing scales of the fish beneath it,

who leap, twist, dive, as free of the wide sea

as formerly the bird of the wide sky,

now helpless, starving, a prisoner of the surface,

unable to dive or rise:

this is your emblem.

Take away the bird, let it be drowned

in the steep black waves of the storm, let it be broken

against rocks in the morning light, too faint to swim:

take away the bird, but keep the emblem.

It is the emblem of Major Eatherly,

who looked round quickly from the height of each wave,

but saw no land, only the rim of the sky

But now he fought to win his manhood back.
Steep from the sunset of his pain he flew
Against the darkness in that last attack.
It was for love he fought, to make that true.

To take life is always to die a little: to stop
any feeling and moving contrivance, however ugly,
unnecessary, or hateful, is to reduce by so much the
total
of life there is. And that is to die a little.

To take the life of an enemy is to help him,
a little, towards destroying your own. Indeed, that is
why
we hate our enemies: because they force us to kill
them.

A murderer hides the dead man in the ground:
but his crime rears up and topples on to the living,
for it is they who now must hunt the murderer,
murder him, and hide him in the ground: it is they
who now feel the touch of death cold in their bones.
Animals hate death. A trapped fox will gnaw
through his own leg: it is so important to live
that he forgives himself the agony,
consenting, for life's sake, to the desperate teeth
grating through bone and pulp, the gasping yelps.

That is the reason the trapper hates the fox.
You think the trapper doesn't hate the fox?
But he does, and the fox can tell how much.
It is not the fox's teeth that grind his bones,
it is the trapper's. It is the trapper, there,

who keeps his head down, gnawing, hour after hour.

And the people the trapper works for, they are there too,
heads down beside the trap, gnawing away.
Why shouldn't they hate the fox? Their cheeks are

smeared

*John Wain is a poet, novelist and critic. He writes frequently for the Sunday news-paper, *The Observer*, and broadcasts on the British Broadcasting Corporation's Third Programme. His publications include "Hurry on Down" and "Living in the Present" (novels), "Mixed Feelings" and "A Word Carved on a Sill" (poetry), and Preliminary Essays.

Hell tried the criminal but burnt the crime,
Purged where it punished, healed where it destroyed:
It was a stove that warmed the rooms of time.

No man begrimed the flames their appetite.
All were afraid of fire, yet none rebelled.
The wise men taught that hell was just and right.

"The soul desires its necessary dread:
Only among the thorns can patience weave
A bower where the mind can make its bed."

Even the holy saints whose patient jaws
Chewed bitter rind and hands raised up the dead
Were chestnuts roasted at God's furnace doors.

The wise men passed. The clever men appeared.
They ruled that hell be called a pumpkin face.
They robbed the soul of what it justly feared.

Coal after coal the fires of hell went out.
Their heat no longer warmed the rooms of time,
Which glistened now with fluorescent doubt.

The chilly saints went striding up and down
To warm their blood with useful exercise!
They rolled like conkers through the draughty town.

Those emblematic flames sank down to rest,
But metaphysical fire can not go out:
Men ran from devils they had dispossessed,

And felt within their skulls the dancing heat
No longer stored in God's deep boiler-room.
Fire scorched their temples, frostbite chewed their feet.

That parasitic fire could race and climb
More swiftly than the stately flames of hell.
Its fuel gone, it licked the beams of time.

So time dried out and youngest hearts grew old,
The smoky minutes cracked and broke apart.
The world was roasting but the men were cold.

Now from this pain worse pain was brought to birth,
More hate, more anguish, till at last they cried,
"Release this fire to gnaw the crusty earth:

Make it a flame that's obvious to sight
And let us say we kindled it ourselves,
To split the skulls of men and let in light.

loved, perhaps, by the Creator, and yet abandoned,
mocked by the flashing scales of the fish beneath it,
who leap, twist, dive, as free of the wide sea
as formerly the bird of the wide sky,
now helpless, starving, a prisoner of the surface,
unable to dive or rise:

this is your emblem.
Take away the bird, let it be drowned
in the steep black waves of the storm, let it be broken
against rocks in the morning light, too faint to swim:
take away the bird, but keep the emblem.

It is the emblem of Major Eatherly,
who looked round quickly from the height of each wave,
but saw no land, only the rim of the sky
into which he was not free to rise, or the silver
gleam of the mocking scales of the fish diving
where he was not free to dive.

Men have clung always to emblems,
to tokens of absolution from their sins.
Once it was the scapegoat driven out, bearing
its load of guilt under the empty sky
until its shape was lost, merged in the scrub.
Now we are civilised, there is no wild heath.
Instead of the nimble scapegoat running out
to be lost under the wild and empty sky,
the load of guilt is packed into prison walls,
and men file inward through the heavy doors.

But now that image, too, is obsolete.
The Major entering prison is no scapegoat.
His penitence will not take away our guilt,
nor sort with any consoling ritual:
this is penitence for its own sake, beautiful,
uncomprehending, inconsolable, unforeseen.
He is not in prison for his penitence:
it is no outrage to our law that he wakes
with cries of pity on his parching lips.
We do not punish him for cries or nightmares.
We punish him for stealing things from stores.

O, give his pension to the storekeeper,
Tell him it is the price of all our souls.
But do not trouble to unlock the door
and bring the Major out into the sun.
Leave him; it is all one: perhaps his nightmares
grow cooler in the twilight of the prison.
Leave him; if he is sleeping, come away.
But lay a folded paper by his head,
nothing official or embossed, a page
torn from your notebook, and the words in pencil.
Say nothing of love, or thanks, or penitence:
say only "Eatherly, we have your message."

PEOPLE AND PLACE

by PHYZ

NEW WAR—OLD ASSUMPTIONS

WAR, you will remember, is to become "humane." Or so some of the Top Brass in the United States have been urging lately, through advocating the development of germs, gas and "psychochemical" weapons.

And thus we enter the age of Brave New World. One of the men best qualified to speak about it is the vice-president of the Lumus Company and director of its Engineering Development Centre. Major-General William M. Creasy, formerly the US Army's Chief Chemical Officer for more than four years, imagines this situation with the new weapons:

"One could go into the US Senate Chamber tomorrow and have the Senators dancing on their desks or playing leapfrog in the aisles, and the other half fist-fighting or possibly shouting Communistic speeches. All that's required would be to walk into the visitors' gallery with a small container of psychochemical gas."

What do the "psycho" weapons do? Some make the victim prone to terror (like the cat in these pictures), others deprive him of his capacity for rational thinking. Yet others "merely interfere with his judgment in subtle ways." They can make people so witless that they are temporarily helpless. "I do not contend," says General Creasy, "that driving people crazy—even for a few hours—is a pleasant prospect. But warfare is never pleasant."

"And to those who feel that any kind of chemical weapon is more horrible than conventional weapons, I put this question: Would you rather be temporarily deranged, blinded or paralysed by a chemical agent, or burned alive by a conventional fire bomb?"

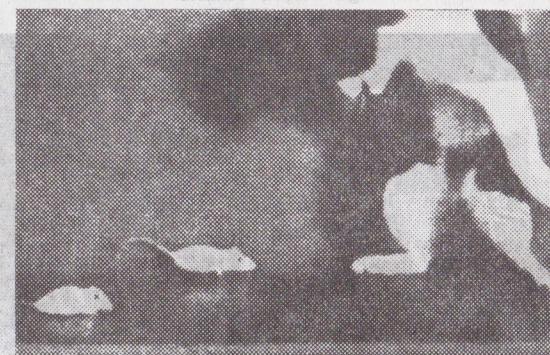
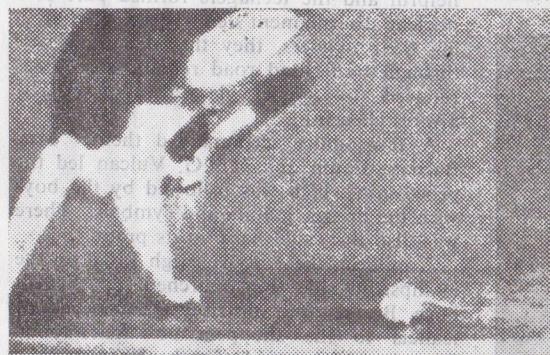
The General admits, however, that "if a whole town were saturated there would be wholesale pandemonium."

Some of the new agents, he points out, make men dread human association—they run and hide from one another.

And of course, "I'd be lying if I should

MIghtier Than THE SWORD

So runs the caption on one of the Peace Pledge Union posters



THE EFFECT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WEAPONS

A liberal concession

THE Kenya Government announced recently that "in view of the improved security position" in the colony, it has been "found possible" to grant certain relaxations regarding Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribes. Employers of these Kenya Africans no longer have to keep a special register of them.

issue. Be concise and direct, brief and factual. Be sure your reasoning is logical and incisive, and leads from facts to your conclusion. Suggest a specific action."

Tea for two

SIR FRANCIS IBIAM, a Nigerian doctor and chairman of the governing council of the University College of Ibadan, received apologies recently from the Governments of both the Central Afri-

This General too has wide words on warfare. It is "the most inefficient and terrible way of settling international disputes."

"In modern war it has become quite acceptable to burn men to death—a particularly agonising death—with flame throwers and fire bombs. War will never be less than horrible."

But then he goes on to call for more preparations. Against "a large force of trained enemy soldiers . . . we would probably want to use a lethal chemical agent. . . . It is probable that we will want to kill. There is no glossing over the fact that men must die in war. Taking care of a large number of sick enemy soldiers would take too many of our own men out of action."

He concludes that "we must make it clear that we consider these weapons among the normal, usable means of war . . . learn to live with them . . . we cannot start too soon."

This is curious. Both these generals assume that war must continue apparently for ever, in one form or another. Not a very rational judgment these days—perhaps someone's given them a whiff of the new gas?

A few moments before these pictures were taken the cat displayed all its normal instincts towards the tiny mouse. Then "fear gas" (LSD-25, or lysergic acid diethylamide derivative) was administered, and the cat went wild with terror.

his philosophy, both fails and succeeds—for reasons that he least expects—but how this comes about you must hear for yourself.

German peace workers remember last war

GERMAN peace workers kept vigil in

conventional weapons, I put this question: Would you rather be temporarily deranged, blinded or paralysed by a chemical agent, or burned alive by a conventional fire bomb?"

The General admits, however, that "if a whole town were saturated there would be wholesale pandemonium."

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MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD

SO runs the caption on one of the Peace Pledge Union posters, which displays a quill pen in the shape of an olive branch and invites readers to sign the pledge to renounce all wars.



There are several other appropriate posters urging the pacifist message of the individual renunciation of war leading to the unconditioned unilateral renunciation by Britain of war itself and all its weapons. There is a new edition of the small boy poster, reproduced from the revised "Call to You" leaflet, with the slogan: "His Hope—A Future Without War."

Posters are an excellent way of keeping the pacifist message before the public, whether used on a suitable site (railway station, hoarding, window, garage door, garden gate) or carried in a parade. If you can provide the site or arrange the parade we can supply the posters.

They may also serve to remind pacifists of our opportunities and responsibilities. Indeed, this is a "Call to You" to take your pen, fill up a cheque or postal order and address an envelope to the PPU Headquarters Fund, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.I., into which you can put your donation which will help to provide posters, leaflets and other methods of spreading pacifism.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

We need to raise at least £1,250 for H.Q. Fund in 1959.

We have received to date £563.

I hope that your pen is not dry.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.I.

and the cat went wild with terror.

THE EFFECT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WEAPONS

A liberal concession

THE Kenya Government announced recently that "in view of the improved security position" in the colony, it has been "found possible" to grant certain relaxations regarding Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribes.

Employers of these Kenya Africans no longer have to keep a special register of them.

That sounds fine. At last these peoples are to have a little freedom in their own country.

Well, almost. Now *all* that's necessary is for the employer to check the African's passbook, see that it's valid, see that he obtains at once a resident's permit (if he hasn't got one), or its cancellation (if he has).

And, of course, if a member of one of these tribes wants to go to the next province, he can always apply for a movement permit.

Don't expect an answer!

AT the recent recall conference of the National Union of Municipal and General Workers, Mr. F. Hayday, national industrial officer of the union, said as the debate on H-bomb policy came to a close:

"I am much impressed by the arguments put forward on moral and Christian grounds. They are most disturbing. But you cannot formulate political programmes and policies on those principles."

This prompted the following question in a letter to The Times:

"If expediency is to be the governing factor in political Parties' decisions, have we any right—as we constantly do—to call ourselves a 'Christian nation'?"

The write way

ON the conclusion of Nuclear Disarmament Week in Britain, the issues will certainly be debated in the columns of the local press.

Here is some excellent advice on writing such a letter—straight from the editor of the New York Wells Newsletter:

"Keep letters short and write about one

issue. Be concise and direct, brief and factual. Be sure your reasoning is logical and incisive, and leads from facts to your conclusion. Suggest a specific action."

Tea for two

SIR FRANCIS IBIAM, a Nigerian doctor and chairman of the governing council of the University College of Ibadan, received apologies recently from the Governments of both the Central African Federation and Northern Rhodesia for his treatment at Chingola.

A cafe proprietor there refused him a cup of tea. Two white people accompanying Sir Francis were served, but he was told: "We do not serve Africans."

The Northern Rhodesian Government's statement expressed the "greatest concern and regret" at the treatment accorded "a distinguished visitor to the territory who was refused service for no other reason than that of race."

I wish these Governments were as concerned for other non-whites as they are for (publicity rating) Top Africans.

A Sartre triangle

FOOD for thought will be served in an unusual and stimulating manner on the BBC this Sunday (September 20) with Jean-Paul Sartre's compelling play "Crime Passionel."

It is set inside the Communist Party of a Balkan state in 1945, and involves a triangle with a difference: Hugo, a young intellectual, his pretty wife, Jessica, and Hoederer, the strong Party boss.

The "over-sensitive" intellectual is put to the test of personal political action by taking on the assignment of assassinating one of the leaders of his own Party.

Producer Stuart Burge says that Sartre's play has all the excitement of a spy thriller, but at the same time "grapples deeply into the motives and behaviour of these characters under the stress of personal danger and the realisation that they cannot keep their hands clean and retain their notions of pure political idealism when it concerns the practical business of government."

In his mission the young, intellectual, Hugo, who cannot reconcile murder with

his philosophy, both fails and succeeds—for reasons that he least expects—but how this comes about you must hear for yourself.

German peace workers remember last war

GERMAN peace workers kept vigil in the market place of Osnabück on the twentieth anniversary of World War II. In the evening a public meeting was held, supported by the German branch of the War Resisters' International and the Union of German Peace Societies.

After a showing of films of Hiroshima and Nagasaki a collection was taken and the proceeds sent to Dr. Albert Schweitzer for his hospital at Lambarene.

Leaflets bearing Dr. Schweitzer's portrait, and warning against atomic war, were widely distributed in the city, which still shows many signs of war damage. The activities were given good coverage in the press.

Two Japanese organisations, opposing nuclear arms have protested to President de Gaulle against French plans to test nuclear weapons in the Sahara.

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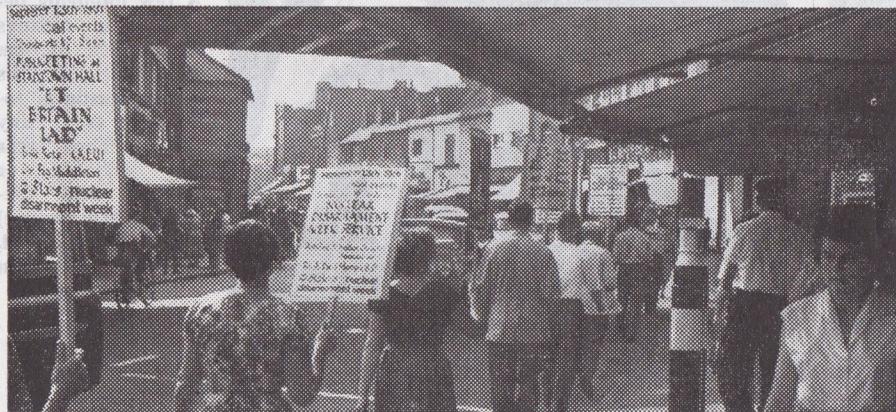
5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.I.



Holding an ice cream and an "ND" lollipop is some achievement. John Loverseed, jun., son of former Battle of Britain pilot, has everything under control as poster paraders assemble for a march through North London shopping centres.

PHOTO: R. BARBER.

Below: In High Street, Staines. PHOTO: L. F. ROBINSON.



OXFORD

From Lionel Cliffe.

So far we have held a poster parade which was unfortunately restricted by the police to only six people (because of the traffic, they said). However, we did get around this by having six people at a time

parading through the busy centre of the town for well over two hours.

About half a dozen ministers and lay preachers will be preaching sermons or saying special prayers during services. The window displays made by Leslie Durham, a young conscientious objector, with scientific advice from Antoinette Pirie, are extremely good, and will in fact be used after the week as a permanent exhibition.

THE WEEK

LONDON

THE week began in London with a picket of Downing Street by prominent writers, playwrights and actors. Among those taking part in the picket were actresses Constance Cummings and Mary Ure, playwrights Robert Bolt, Arnold Wesker and John Osborne, writers Doris Lessing and Raymond Williams, jazz singer George Melly, poet Christopher Logue, and film director Lindsay Anderson. The picket began at 9 a.m. and continued until 8 p.m.

There was also a picket of the French Embassy by members of the Campaign.

Members of the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament organised a march from Charing Cross to Victoria Park, Hackney. About 200 young people took part in the march.

WILLESDEN

From Fanny Cockerell.

ON the hottest September Saturday of this or many other years a group of teenagers was seen walking in the company of three policemen down the Kilburn High Road. But these young people were not in trouble. The police were friendly and helpful and the teenagers formed part of a nuclear disarmament demonstration. Carrying their banners, they threaded their way through traffic and road repairs, sometimes reduced to single file, always orderly, always cheerful.

A few adults accompanied them. Mrs. Barbara Eaton and Mr. G. Vulcan led the procession which was followed by the boys with the drums, guitars and cymbals. There was also the usual baby in its pram.

A mile up the Kilburn High Road on the Hampstead side they marched, up to Kilburn Bridge, and distributed hundreds of leaflets to the shoppers on their route. Then back for a mile on the Kilburn side, and up to Cricklewood and down Chichele Road and Walm Lane to culminate at Willesden Library. From there a group went to the Willesden Show, where the twenty to thirty thousand people who filled the grounds had the opportunity of seeing the Nuclear Disarmament stand in the Social Services tent.

Judging by the questions asked, the interest shown and the number of people who left their names, there is every hope that the local branch will increase in size and that the next march may be a much larger one.

Last Saturday saw the beginning of the national week organised by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament under the title of "Let Britain Lead." Throughout Britain local groups of the Campaign organised marches, pickets and demonstrations. We print below reports on the progress of the week so far in various parts of Britain. More will appear next week.

The week will conclude with a meeting in Trafalgar Square on Sunday at 4 p.m. at which Bertrand Russell, Michael Foot, Canon Collins, John Horner, Dr. Donald Soper and Victor Gollancz will be the speakers. After the meeting there will be a march to St. Paul's Cathedral.

We should like to thank the secretaries and press officers of local groups for their co-operation in providing us with these reports.

NEWBURY

From Bill Stephenson.

ABOUT seventy people attended a public meeting, "The Bomb and You," in the Plaza, Newbury, on Monday. The local education officer, Mr. J. R. Plumridge, introduced the speakers.

The week could serve as a measure of the Campaign's success to date, and as an encouragement for future activity, said Canon Collins. The Campaign was, he believed, rapidly gaining ground in many parts of the country, even if this was not obvious in Newbury; obviously there were local special difficulties in view of the large-scale employment of people locally at Aldermaston.

ALDERMASTON

However, there was no need at all for unemployment to be caused by the closure of the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment; what was needed was the conversion of the plant to peaceful work, perhaps for international research.

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Other questions submitted to them dealt with the circumstances in which the actual use of nuclear weapons by or from this country would be justified and the probable consequences of their use; and with the recently publicised underground fall-out operations rooms being established for the Royal Observer Corps. What, it was asked, were the civilian population likely to be doing on the surface while fall-out data was being assembled 30 feet underground?

The unions and the non-nuclear club

SIR VINCENT TEWSON, opening the discussion of the Hydrogen Bomb at the Trades Union Congress last week, likened NATO to collective bargaining in industry, thus invoking in his hearers support by appealing to traditional concepts of loyalty.

His speech was filled with similar coloured words: "contracting out," "isolationism" and even "blacklegging." The burden of his twenty minutes' speech was a claim that the unilateralists and the Transport and General Workers' Union were detracting from Western unity in the face of Stalinist assault and attempts to divide the Western powers (no mention was made of course of the fact that most TU Communists were supporting Sir Vincent).

Mr. Bill Carron (Amalgamated Engineering Union) told us he was "concerned with the practical issue of what might get a majority and put Labour back into power" (presumably ensuring the survival of humanity was an impractical issue), otherwise apart from the delightful Freudian slip, to which Frank Cousins later referred, of describing Labour policy as the Nuclear Club, he said nothing of consequence.

It was quite otherwise with Gunter, of the Transport Salaried Staffs' Association, who attempted to prove that our possession of the Bomb enhances our political and moral position in the world, and airily dismissed opposition to Tests as sentimentalism.

My apologies to Frank Cousins who I had

Blackpool Commentary by Laurens Otter

expected to discover the virtues of moderation and the prospects of high office; his "as a Trade Unionist, as a father, I could never be associated with a policy that permitted the first use of this terrible weapon" was one of the only two moving moments of the Conference. However inadequate the T & GWU's motion, his speech proposing it was composed, logical and sincere.

He said that throughout the debate inevitably appeals would be made to drop the issue and stop splitting the Party, but that the Party's health was bound up with internal democracy and the issue should be debated by a democratic party. The defence merits of the Bomb were non-existent; economically we cannot afford Labour's social service programme and Tory-minded defence policy. The Conference Report is not normally defended by the General Council until attacked by reference back or opposing motion. But Sir Vincent was given 20 minutes to support this report before anyone spoke.

Carron then proposed a motion in support of the official line followed by the T & GWU's resolution. Then the unilateralist resolution was put forward, and finally a motion merely proposing that American bases in Britain be under British control, this being moved under Stalinist auspices. After this the debate was general, then the right of reply for each of the four motions, and finally Tewson again.

Knight, putting the unilateralist case, was clear and logical. He showed that the unity of resistance of which Tewson had spoken could only mean unity against war, and pointed out that the nature of Communism is to wage war on the production front, not on the military.

He ended with what *The Times* was to condemn as a jest in bad taste, but which was certainly not meant as a joke but as a serious warning: "God created all men equal, man will cremate all men equal."

The proposer of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen motion on rocket bases was fond of such phrases as "affront to national sovereignty." He recalled the Labour Party's earlier demand—no missile bases till Summit talks—with approval (they are perfectly all right of course after Summit talks), stressing that the Summit talks have not as yet happened.

Frank Haxell, of the Electrical Trades Union, condemned the non-nuclear club from the standpoint of Strachey's pamphlet "Ban All the Bombs," and gave faint-hearted support to Cousins. The ETU had withdrawn their own motion which supported the non-nuclear club in favour of the T & GWU which opposed it. At the vote the figures were:

For the non-nuclear club	5,214,000
Against the non-nuclear club	2,690,000
For the T & GWU motion ...	2,795,000
Against the T & GWU motion	5,133,000

The unilateralist motion was not pressed to a card vote. My two neighbours incidentally assumed that whoever had called for a card vote had done it to damage the Labour Party.

Coming 19 October and loving I despair

VERENA SLADEN

A challenging first novel of how The Bomb became of tragic importance in a woman's life. If you are participating in the Nuclear Disarmament Week you will want to read this book. 16s.

Barrie & Rockliff

2 CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND, WC2

OPENS . . .



STAINES TOWN HALL

PLYMOUTH

From James Mitchell.

THE Week's activities opened in Plymouth with open-air meetings and intensive canvassing by a team of members on the Efford Housing Estate on Monday publicising an "Any Questions?" meeting.

Plymouth Nuclear Disarmers will hold an open-air meeting in the City Centre on Saturday, Sept. 19, when the speakers will include two prospective Labour candidates, Bryan Weston (Tavistock), Michael Foot (Devonport), the Rev. Ralph Ackroyd, Chairman of the Plymouth Council of Congregational Churches, and Mrs. E. Tate, JP, the National Vice-president of the Women's Co-operative Guild, who lives in Plymouth.

GLASGOW

From James Robertson.

"IF one super bomb were to be dropped today it would contain the equivalent of 20 megatons of TNT, or, in other words, five times the amount of all the bombs which were dropped during the war." So said Dr. W. S. Cormack, the Principal of Stow Technical College, at a nuclear disarmament rally in Glasgow last Saturday.

The rally was organised by the Glasgow South-West council for nuclear disarmament.

Carrying posters such as "Would YOU drop the bomb?" "Renounce nuclear weapons," and "Parents, will your children have a future?" the campaigners, 60 of them, marched from the Round Toll at Pollokshaws to Albert Road in Queen's Park. They were led by a local minister, the Rev. Jimmy Currie, and by Labour candidate, Mr. John Mack Smith, who is contesting the Pollock constituency at the General Election.

From Monday to Friday there is an exhibition in Community House, 214 Clyde St., Glasgow. The films shown on the Monday and Tuesday included Aldermaston '58 and '59, Boundary Lines, and Shadow over Hiroshima. The films then go to Kirkcaldy and Aberdeen. Prominent local speakers taking part in open-air meetings at Blythswood St., off Sauchiehall Street, included Campbell Wilkie and Keith Bövey, of the Peace Pledge Union.

There are still some seats left in the two buses which are leaving Glasgow, North Hanover Street, off George Square, tomorrow, Saturday, 1 p.m., for Edinburgh.

The Very Rev. George F. Macleod is unable to attend the final rally in the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on Sunday the 20th at 3 p.m. The speakers will be Ritchie Calder, Prof. Kemmer, Judith Hart (Lanark's Labour candidate), and the Rev. Clifford Macquire, if he has recovered from his recent illness. In the chair will be Bill Taylor, Glasgow town councillor and pacifist lawyer.

ORPINGTON

From Rex Phillips.

DURING Thursday and Friday last week thousands of leaflets were given out at

PEACE NEWS, September 18, 1959—7



King's Lynn Nuclear Disarmament Committee opened the week with a special service on the morning of the 13th September at St. Lawrence's Church, Castle Rising. The service was conducted by the Rev. Leslie Woodland. Dr. John Weston Wells, president of the Committee (seen above, left, holding the banner with Mr. John Thurston) read the lesson. After the service these nuclear disarmament supporters marched some miles along the road carrying the banner and lollipop symbols. PHOTO: LYNN NEWS.

NOTTINGHAM

From Trevor Wadsworth.

FOR nearly six hours, while speaker succeeded speaker at quarter-hour intervals, audiences which totalled an estimated 3,000 people listened in Nottingham Old Market Square last Saturday as the case of nuclear disarmament was put by pacifists and non-pacifists.

The talking "Marathon" inaugurated Nottingham branch's week of activities, and was followed up on Monday with the delivery of 2,000 leaflets by a team of workers who descended on the former Trentside village of Clifton.

They were preparing the way for a public meeting on Wednesday to be addressed by Councillor Philip Myers, a Labour Parliamentary candidate, trade unionist George Cutts, and Baptists the Rev. Reginald Baker and Pastor A. F. Harrison. To-morrow, Saturday, a motor cavalcade will spread the message on posters borne through Nottingham's streets and shopping crowds.

A letter of good wishes from the Lord Mayor of Nottingham, Councillor J. W.

GREENWICH

AFTER opening an exhibition on The Facts of Life in the Nuclear Age at Charlton House on Saturday, Sept. 12, about 100 members of the Greenwich and Blackheath CND Group travelled by specially chartered boat, the Duchess of York, from Greenwich Pier to Westminster with a petition to the Prime Minister.

Libraries lend a hand



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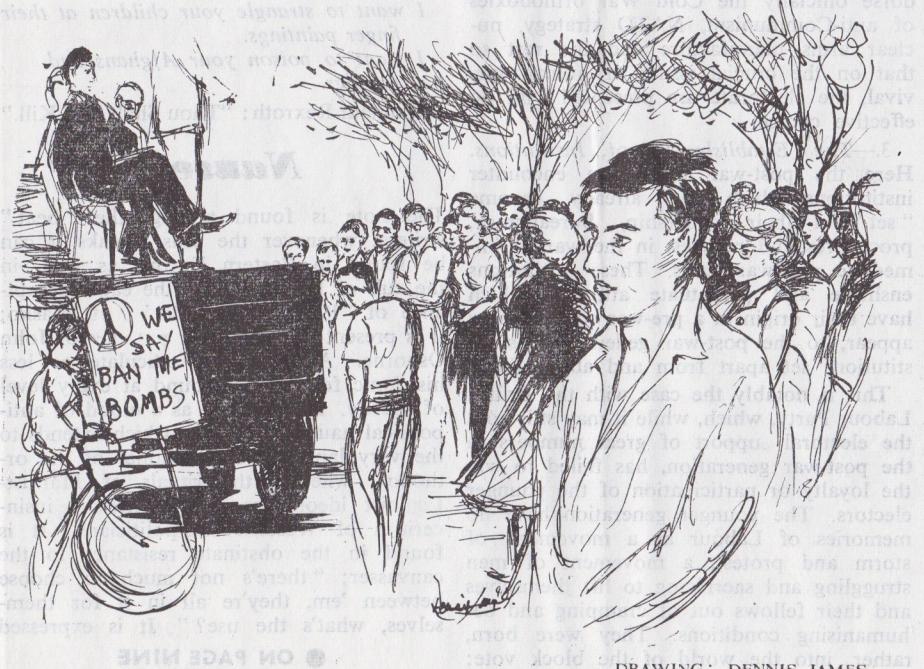
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A feature of the Week has been the active support of churches, trade unions, political parties and the Women's Co-operative Guild.

BRIGHTON

From Alan Staley.

ABOUT 50 people paraded through Brighton's busiest shopping streets and along the sea front for about an hour on Saturday afternoon. Since part of the route was the same as that chosen for the local carnival parade a certain amount of uncovenanted publicity was earned.



tomorrow, Saturday, 1 p.m., for Edinburgh.

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ORPINGTON

From Rex Phillips.

DURING Thursday and Friday last week thousands of leaflets were given out at Petts Wood, Orpington, and St. Mary Cray stations.

On Saturday thirty people took part in an all-day poster parade in Orpington High St. when several thousand more leaflets were given out and in Petts Wood a market stall was manned all day in the shopping centre where supporters' names were collected, leaflets were given out, posters displayed and literature sold.

On Sunday both in the morning and in the evening our banner "Keep death out of the skies—Join the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament" will be manned on the main Hastings Road and other posters displayed.

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A letter of good wishes from the Lord Mayor of Nottingham, Councillor J. W. Kenyon, who is a Quaker, was read at Saturday's rally, when audiences fluctuated between the 150 and 300 mark. The speakers included Free Church ministers, trade unionists, Labour Party members and candidates, and representatives of peace organisations.

At one stage the police told organisers that the meeting would have to close down, because of intensive heckling by semi-intoxicated public house habitues. "Some speakers had a very rough time after the pubs. had closed," a member of the Nottingham branch committee said, "but the police helped us to a large extent and we were able to continue. A very large section of the audience listened extremely closely, and I think there was a fairly sympathetic proportion."

General Election policies were well to the forefront, and speakers urged individual members of the audience to press candidates in their constituencies in order to find out where they stood on the nuclear disarmament issue.

Said Mrs. Rachel Gilliatt, daughter of the late John Hoyland, after quoting the inscription on the Hiroshima Peace Park memorial to A-bomb and subsequent radiation victims: "Rest in peace, for the error shall never be repeated."

"It is the individual responsibility of every human being living and breathing today to see that this is carried out."

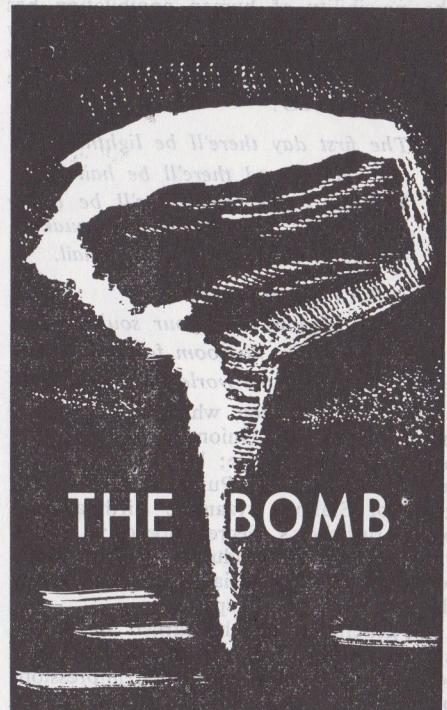
ILFORD

THE Ilford Peace Committee organised a march from Ilford to Barking on Saturday. About 70 people took part in the march which was well covered by the local press.

On Sunday evening a film show was held. And on Monday Dr. Alex Comfort and other local personalities were the speakers at a public meeting on Monday evening.

with a petition to the Prime Minister.

Libraries lend a hand



The cover of the special pamphlet listing books on nuclear disarmament issued by Tottenham Corporation's Public Libraries Department. "The compelling question of our times concerns atomic hazards and nuclear warfare," says the introduction. "The widespread interest in the question shown by readers has prompted the publication of this select list of books, chiefly for the non-scientific reader, which presents the facts, the arguments and the consequences."

Stoke Newington (North London) Library has offered display space to the local CND group during "The Week."

The case for unilateral disarmament gets into between one and two hundred British public libraries through the presence of Peace News in the reading room. Is it in your local library?

If not, ask your library committee to place it there. It is the only weekly newspaper giving the unilateralist point of view, now supported by a large section of the population. An offer by a group or individual to donate the copy will sometimes clinch the matter!

THE NEW LEFT

"I AM really sorry to see my countrymen trouble themselves about politics," wrote William Blake in 1810. "House of Commons and Houses of Lords appear to me to be Fools; they seem to me to be something Else besides Human Life." And yet on the next page of his notebook he was denouncing "the wretched State of Political Science, which is the Science of Sciences."

We share his dilemma today. Against the vast back-cloth of nuclear promise and nuclear threat, the old political routines have lost their meaning. Mr. Macmillan's business with the fur hat: Mr. Gaitskell, sharing the platform on NATO DAY (the day after London's May Day), with M. Spaak and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd: these things no longer arouse scorn, or indignation, or partisanship of any kind. They are tedious. They are "something Else besides Human Life." Strontium-90 is a merciless critic; it penetrates alike the specious rhetoric about a "free community of nations," the romantic *longeurs* of imperialism in retreat, the flatulent composure of the Fabian "social engineer," the bluff incompetence and moral atrophy of the "political realists."

And yet it is these men who hold within their control the very course of human life. And so the business of controlling them is indeed the "Science of Sciences."

It is in recognition of this fact that some members of the younger generation are beginning to take up political activity. They are doing this, not because they have clearly-formulated political objectives, but because they think it necessary to watch the politicians.

Hymn for NATO

It is a difficult generation for the Old Left to understand. It is, to begin with, the first in the history of mankind to experience adolescence within a culture where the possibility of human annihilation has become an after-dinner platitude. Tommy Steele anticipated Mr. Godfrey Liam by several years, in writing the appropriate hymn for NATO:

The first day there'll be lightning

The second there'll be hail

The third daybreak there'll be a big earthquake

So brother, forward my mail.

examples of Kenya and Cyprus, Suez and Algeria.

A generation nourished on "1984" and "Animal Farm," which enters politics at the extreme point of disillusion where the middle-aged begin to get out. The young people, who marched from Aldermaston, and who are beginning, in many ways, to associate themselves with the socialist movement, are enthusiastic enough. But their enthusiasm is not for the party, or the movement, or the established political leaders. They do not mean to give their enthusiasm cheaply away to any routine machine. They expect the politicians to do their best to trick or betray them.

At meetings they listen attentively, watching for insincerities, more ready with ironic applause than with cheers of acclaim. They prefer the amateur organisation and the amateurish platforms of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to the method and manner of the Left-wing professional. They are acutely sensitive to the least falsity or histrionic gesture, the "party-political" debating-point, the tortuous evasions of "expediency." They judge with the critical eyes of the first generation of the nuclear age.

Established sources who want to see the young people "got hold of" and who are alarmed at the first symptoms of a self-activating socialist youth movement, have sounded the alarm. The Labour Party Executive has even appointed a committee to sit on the question of youth. But youth has been making its own inquiries; and the Labour Party Executive has not come out of them too well.

What they fail, all of them, to recognise, is that the young people who are entering political activity today are indeed "concerned with serious politics." Serious politics today, in any worthwhile scale of human values, commences with nuclear disarmament. Those who do not under-

stand the most characteristic form of expression of this "apathy" has been in the sense of impotence, on the part of the individual, in face of the apparatus of the State. This has arisen, in different countries, from quite different causes; American

it is the trade union that tells them what they can do and what they can't do. They see restriction where their fathers saw mutual support. And the young socialist today is not only concerned with changing the direction of Labour Party policy; he is hostile to its integration with the rest of the Establishment, hostile to the party bureaucracy, hostile to the "game political," hostile to the machine itself.

These are some of the ingredients of the Great Apathy. But "apathy" is a misleading term, confusing contradictory phenomena. On the one hand we have seen the blatant salesmanship of acquisitive materialism, and the conformists in State and Party and industry—in the USA the gaudy showcase of conspicuous consumption and the great rat-race: in the USSR the time-serving conformity of the *apparatchiks*: in Britain Mr. Gaitskell's Glossy and Mr. Macmillan's Opportunity State and the ethic of "Room at the Top." And as a concomitant of all these, a profound moral inertia, retreat from political commitment, failure to engage the idealism of youth, and a slowing down of the dynamic of social change.

Protest

On the other hand, there have been the scarcely-concealed injustices and inequalities, the increase in criminality, the social neurosis and inarticulate frustrations—dope-addicts and "Beats," *stilyagi*, gang conflicts and race riots. Perhaps only a minority react in this way, but the possibility of harnessing this latent aggression on a much wider scale is always there. Notting Hill is a warning. Sometimes the protest is just *against*; against nothing, as in the rock 'n roll riots. Sometimes we catch a glimpse of the immense potential of human energy and sympathy draining away for lack of channels of expression; the unutilised yearnings for something positive with which to identify oneself that find expression in gang-belongingness, or the desires to find a meaning in life which went to inflate the mass emotionality of Billy Graham's tours.

For a multitude, East and West, "apathy" has not been the expression of content, so much as the function of impotence. And impotence is generating its own forms of

Orthodoxy

2.—The Establishment of Orthodoxy.

It is a difficult generation for the Old Left to understand. It is, to begin with, the first in the history of mankind to experience adolescence within a culture where the possibility of human annihilation has become an after-dinner platitude. Tommy Steele anticipated Mr. Godfrey Liam by several years, in writing the appropriate hymn for NATO:

The first day there'll be lightning
The second there'll be hail
The third daybreak there'll be a big
earthquake
So brother, forward my mail.

Rock 'n roll you sinners,
Sing to save your soul —
There ain't no room for beginners
When the world is Rock 'n Roll.

It is a generation which never looked upon the Soviet Union as a weak but heroic Workers' State; but, rather, as the nation of the Great Purges and of Stalingrad, of Stalin's Byzantine Birthday and of Khrushchov's Secret Speech: as the vast military and industrial power which repressed the Hungarian rising and threw the first sputniks into space.

A generation which learned of Belsen and Hiroshima when still at elementary school; and which formed their impressions of Western Christian conduct from the

Established sources who want to see the young people "got hold of" and who are alarmed at the first symptoms of a self-activating socialist youth movement, have sounded the alarm. The Labour Party Executive has even appointed a committee to sit on the question of youth. But youth has been making its own inquiries; and the Labour Party Executive has not come out of them too well.

What they fail, all of them, to recognise, is that the young people who are entering political activity today are indeed "concerned with serious politics." Serious politics today, in any worthwhile scale of human values, commences with nuclear disarmament. Those who do not understand this are either stupid (in which case they may yet be convinced); or they have become so mesmerised with political trivia, or have pushed their emotions so far down under, that they mistake the machinery of politics for the thing itself (in which case they are no longer on the Left, but are on the other side).

The young marchers of Aldermaston, despite all immaturities and individualistic attitudes, are at root more mature than their critics on the Old Left. They have understood that "politics" have become too serious to be left to the routines of politicians. As for "moral and spiritual values," what can Old Left or Old Right offer, after all?

The fourth day there'll be darkness
The last time the sun has shone,
The fifth day you'll wake up and say
The world's real gone
—Tommy Steele: "Doomsday Rock."

Congress and Government to form a super-Establishment, which has invested its own procedures with an air of "official" sanctity so that the non-conformists or minority group ("unofficial" strikers, "proscribed" organisations, etc.), are presented as offenders against Decency, Law and Order—a process most clearly seen at work in the treatment of the "blue" union in the docks, the events at Briggs Motors, and the "official" Court of Inquiry into the British Overseas Airways Corporation.

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For a multitude, East and West, "apathy" has not been the expression of content, so much as the function of impotence. And impotence is generating its own forms of revolt, in which utter political disillusion combines with the anarchistic posturing of the isolated individual. On occasion it spills over into the frenzy of the impotent verbal assassin:

I want to run into the street,
Shouting "Remember Vanzetti!"
I want to pour gasoline down your
chimneys.
I want to blow up your galleries.
I want to burn down your editorial
offices.
I want to slit the bellies of your frigid
women.
I want to sink your sailboats and
launches.
I want to strangle your children at their
finger paintings.
I want to poison your Afghans and
poodles.

—Kenneth Rexroth: "Thou Shalt Not Kill."

Orthodoxy

2.—*The Establishment of Orthodoxy.* Two factors have combined to generate a climate of intellectual conformity: first, the centralised control, either by great commercial interests or by the State itself, of the mass media of communication, propaganda, and entertainment, and the consequent elimination from them of minority opinions; second, the ideological orthodoxies and heresy-hunting which have been a by-product of the Cold War.

In Russia this orthodoxy has been enforced by the authority of the State; but in the USA and Britain, where the forms of democracy have been preserved, the major political parties, Republican and Democrat, Conservative and Labour, endorse officially the Cold War orthodoxies of anti-Communism, NATO strategy, nuclear arms manufacture and the rest so that on the crucial issues of human survival, the electorate are presented with no effective choice.

3.—*The Establishment of Institutions.* Here the post-war generation encounter institutions which had already become "set" in their leadership, bureaucracy, procedures and policies, in the war or immediate post-war years. These institutions enshrine and perpetuate attitudes which have their origin in a pre-war context; they appear, to the post-war generation, as institutions set apart from and above them.

This is notably the case with the British Labour Party, which, while it may still hold the electoral support of great numbers in the post-war generation, has failed to win the loyalty or participation of the younger electors. The younger generation have no memories of Labour as a movement of storm and protest, a movement of men struggling and sacrificing to lift themselves and their fellows out of cramping and de-humanising conditions. They were born, rather, into the world of the block vote;

Nausea

The note is found among the "beat" writers; whenever the crust breaks it can be found in Eastern Europe as well—in the cult of Hemmingway, the eager acceptance of "1984," in the stories of Hlaško; it is present in the shriller pages of John Osborne. And, in less articulate or less histrionic forms, it is found at every level of society. It is present as a mood of anti-political nausea; a nausea which extends to the very language and routines of the orthodox, whether the rituals of Marxist-Leninist ideologues or the fireside insincerities of Western tele-politicians. It is found in the obstinate resistance to the canvasser; "there's not much to choose between 'em, they're all in it for themselves, what's the use?" It is expressed

● ON PAGE NINE

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... and its problems

• FROM PAGE EIGHT

in the derisory vote of the Amalgamated Engineering Union membership, when confronted with the choice of Carron or Birch. The old routines have ceased to bring the old results. Such results as they do bring are rarely a cause for socialist congratulation.

War economy

WE place the problem in this context, not because we think that such hasty impressionism is a substitute for the hard work of close political analysis; not because we incline towards the attitudes of Rexroth or of Hlasko; not because we believe that advanced industrialism itself has given rise to a "mass society" in which the antagonism between the power élite, or state bureaucracy, and the alienated individual has superseded, in importance, class antagonisms. The watershed of the October Revolution cannot be argued away; and we believe that, in an atmosphere of relaxed international tension, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will prove to be the area of expanding liberty and human fulfilment, whereas the West, unless transformed by a strong democratic and revolutionary socialist movement, will prove to be the area of encroaching authoritarianism.

Moreover—and the reservation is of great importance—whereas in the capitalist powers, and especially USA, great private interests find the maintenance of tension and arms production profitable, in the East no comparable vested interests in the cold war are to be found. While at the rubbing edges of the "Two Camps"—Jordan or Tibet, Albania or Turkey—the actions of military strategists and politicians, East and West, can be equally fraught with danger, nevertheless it remains true that the "natural" economic and social pressures in the East lead towards a détente, whereas in the West we are faced with the inertia of the "permanent war economy."

New groupings

But the assertion of democracy in the Communist area cannot take place without a hundred contests with the entrenched bureaucracy, its institutions and ideology

enemy not only in the tensions of the cold war, but also in the strategic postulates and partisan ideology of the war. The neutralist position is expressed in the diplomacy of the uncommitted Afro-Asian nations, Yugo-slavia, etc., it is also a spreading heresy in the Communist and Western world. It is the first sin of "revisionism" to come under attack; it was the supreme crime of Nagy and of Harich. It is the neutralist implication of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament which provokes the hostility of the Establishment (Mr. Gaitskell, Mr. Bevan, and all) in Britain. As the pressure grows greater in one "camp," so the response will grow greater in the other.

It must be the first task for any New Left in Britain to propagate and to deepen, in the labour movement and in the nuclear disarmament campaign, not the mere sentiment of neutrality, but the internationalist outlook of active neutrality. We must seek to bring our people to an awareness of their key position in world affairs, by fostering a far wider understanding, not only of the outlook of the colonial and Asian peoples, but also of the potential strength of "revisionist" and democratic forces within the Communist world.

Communications

Second, these groupings find a common problem in gaining access to channels of communication to people, despite control over the cultural apparatus by the State, the party, or commercial interests; and over the organisations of the labour movement by the party bureaucracies. This tends to keep the new groupings isolated and to emphasise their "intellectual" character. But their importance as growing-points should not be underestimated.

The problem differs greatly from one country to another. In France our comrades contest with an erratic and vicious censorship. There they present themselves as a distinct party (the Left Socialist Union) with little electoral influence but with widely influential journals (notably "France-Observateur"). In Italy, the "New Left" tendency is to be found among elements within both the Socialist and Communist Parties, and is expressed in more than one serious theoretical journal. In Russia and in much of Eastern Europe our comrades press against the bar-



On both sides of the Iron Curtain, the old orthodoxies are rejected. In Poland some of the first signs of the coming revolt against Polish Stalinism were seen in the films of Andrzej Wadja. Above a scene from Wadja's latest film "Ashes and Diamonds." The Russians would not allow this film be shown in the Moscow film festival because it wasn't "positive."

the enduring and the discovery of the new. It would tell us nothing about the crucial question: the confluence of the dissident Communist impulse with the left socialist tradition of the West and with the post-war generation. It is at this point of confluence that the New Left can be formed.

Nineteen-fifty-six marks the watershed. In the first place, since 1956, there has been a world-wide and continuing movement of Communist dissidence which has not en-

In the exchange between the two a common language is being discovered, and the same problems are being thrust forward for examination: the problem of political power and of bureaucratic degeneration; the problem of economic power and of workers' control; the problems of decentralisation and of popular participation in social control. There is the same rediscovery of the notion of a socialist community; in Britain the Fabian prescription

edges of the "Two Camps"—Jordan or Tibet, Albania or Turkey—the actions of military strategists and politicians, East and West, can be equally fraught with danger, nevertheless it remains true that the "natural" economic and social pressures in the East lead towards a détente, whereas in the West we are faced with the inertia of the "permanent war economy."

New groupings

But the assertion of democracy in the Communist area cannot take place without a hundred contests with the entrenched bureaucracy, its institutions and ideology. And, equally, the regeneration of the Western socialist movement cannot take place without a fundamental break with the policies and orthodoxies of the past decade. And this two-pronged offensive is (it becomes increasingly clear) carrying the left Socialist in the West, and the dissident Communist in the East, towards a common objective. There is a rediscovery of common aims and principles, obscured during the violent era of the Third International.

This does not constitute a conversion of sections of the Western labour movement to Communist orthodoxy, nor of disillusioned Communists to liberal social-democracy. It represents, rather, a rejection of both orthodoxies; and the emergence of a New Left which, while it draws much from both traditions, stands apart from the sterile antagonisms of the past, and speaks for what is immanent within both societies. It champions a new internationalism, which is not that of the triumph of one camp over the other, but the dissolution of the camps and the triumph of the common people.

It is the bankruptcy of the orthodoxies of the Old Left, and particularly their imprisonment within the framework of cold war ideology and strategy, which has contributed to the characteristic political consciousness of the post-war generation—the sense of impotence in the face of the Establishment. Because there has been during the past decade no determined and effective grouping, with a clear internationalist perspective, challenging these orthodoxies, frustration has given way to disillusion, and disillusion to apathy. Now that such groupings are appearing, in different forms, in a dozen different countries, East and West, the Establishment immediately appears less firmly based; apathy appears as a less formidable phenomenon; and a certain identity of aim is discovered.

First, these groupings find a common

and to emphasise their "intellectual" character. But their importance as growing-points should not be underestimated.

The problem differs greatly from one country to another. In France our comrades contest with an erratic and vicious censorship. There they present themselves as a distinct party (the Left Socialist Union) with little electoral influence but with widely influential journals (notably "France-Observateur"). In Italy, the "New Left" tendency is to be found among elements within both the Socialist and Communist Parties, and is expressed in more than one serious theoretical journal. In Russia and in much of Eastern Europe our comrades press against the barriers of editorial inertia, and contest with State orthodoxy in a hundred tortuous ways; in China and in Viet-Nam they are being "re-educated" in the communes and on the dams—a process which may not prove as one-sided as their educators hope.

In Britain, the democratic forms are unimpaired, but access to the means of communication becomes increasingly difficult—when the media of television and press are largely tuned by the Establishment and are closed to the sustained propagation of minority opinions. Channels of communication within the traditional labour movement are sluggish and obstructed by the bureaucracy. The problem presents itself as one of constructing (however painfully slow the process may seem—though steady progress is being made) an alternative "cultural apparatus," firmly in the hands of the New Left, a cultural apparatus which by-passes the mass media and the party machinery, and which opens up direct channels between significant socialist groupings inside and outside the labour movement.

Third, there is taking place within these groupings a renaissance of socialist theory. It would be premature to attempt to define a unified and consistent body of ideas by which the New Left can be identified in any country. The laboratory work is still continuing, in journals, clubs and splinter parties, in sociological theses and in novels, in discussions in cafes, communes, workshops, trade union meetings.

It would be possible to trace a recurring pattern in Communist post-1956 "revisionism"—the humanist revolt, the rejection of dogmatic in favour of empirical methods of analysis, opposition to authoritarian and paternalist forms of organisation, the critique of determinism, etc. But this would tell us more about the shedding of old illusions and the re-valuation of old traditions, than about the affirmation of

On both sides of the Iron Curtain, the old orthodoxies are rejected. In Poland some of the first signs of the coming revolt against Polish Stalinism were seen in the films of Andrzej Wadja. Above a scene from Wadja's latest film "Ashes and Diamonds." The Russians would not allow this film be shown in the Moscow film festival because it wasn't "positive."

the enduring and the discovery of the new. It would tell us nothing about the crucial question: the confluence of the dissident Communist impulse with the left socialist tradition of the West and with the post-war generation. It is at this point of confluence that the New Left can be formed.

Nineteen-fifty-six marks the watershed. In the first place, since 1956, there has been a world-wide and continuing movement of Communist dissidence which has not entered into the worn paths of traumatic anti-Communism, God-That-Failedism, Encounterism, and the rest; but which has, on the contrary, sought to affirm and develop the humane and libertarian features of the Communist tradition.

Common language

The resilience and maturity of this heresy, which—excluded from the Communist Parties—has refused to lie down and die, or to cross to the "other camp," but which has instead struck independent roots in the labour movement, interposing itself between the orthodox Communist apparatus and the non-Communist Left—this has aroused the particular fury of the ideologues of "World Marxist Review." Indeed, in certain countries it would be possible to identify the New Left by saying that it stands aside from the traditional contest between Social-Democratic and Communist orthodoxy; and looks forward to socialist re-unification, not through some formal alliance of incompatibles, but as a result of the displacement of the ruling bureaucracies in both.

But we should go further. If there is, as yet, no unified theory of the New Left, there are many common pre-occupations. There is no prescribed "road to Socialism"; but Socialism remains an international theory, with an international language. Confronted by the authoritarianism and anti-intellectualism of the Stalinist deviant of Marxism, Communist dissidence has broken with its scholastic framework and is subjecting the entire catechism to an empirical critique. But at the same time, confronted by the idiocies of the Cold War and the facts of power within Western "over-developed societies," a taut radical temper is arising among the post-war generation of socialists and intellectuals in the West.

In the exchange between the two a common language is being discovered, and the same problems are being thrust forward for examination: the problem of political power and of bureaucratic degeneration; the problem of economic power and of workers' control; the problems of decentralisation and of popular participation in social control. There is the same rediscovery of the notion of a socialist community; in Britain the Fabian prescription of a competitive Equality of Opportunity is giving way, among socialists, before the re-discovery of William Morris's vision of a Society of Equals; in the Communist world the false community of the authoritarian collective is under pressure from the voluntary, organic community of individuals, which, despite all the inhumanities of the past two decades, has grown up within it. There is, East and West, the same renewal of interest in the "young Marx"; the same concern with humanist propositions; the same re-assertion of moral agency, and of individual responsibility within the flow of historical events.

The New Left has little confidence in the infallibility, either of institutions or of historical processes. A true socialist community will not be brought into being by legislative manipulation and top-level economic planning alone. Socialism must commence with existing people; it must be built by men and women in voluntary association. The work of changing peoples' values and attitudes and the summoning up of aspirations to further change by means of utopian critiques of existing society, remains as much a duty of socialists as the conquest and maintenance of working-class power.

At every stage, before, during, and after the conquest of power, the voluntary participation of the people must be enlisted, and the centres of power must themselves, wherever possible, be broken up. The New Left is made up of revolutionary socialists; but the revolution to which they look forward must entail not only the conquest but also the dismantling of State power. They are socialist theorists who distrust the seductive symmetry of socialist theory, and revolutionaries who are on their guard against the dogmatic excesses and the power-drives of the professional revolutionary.

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This is the Tory colonial record

ISSUE FOR OCTOBER 8?

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



IN three short weeks we shall have a new Parliament elected in Britain. The result of the General Election will affect the colonial peoples more than anyone.

The Tory Government which has ruled Britain for more than four years has a terrible record in colonial affairs. It is so bad that for the sake of Britain's reputation I cite two good events before I list the bad.

The independence of Ghana and the acceptance of the independence of Nigeria in 1960 were memorable events, but they were due more to circumstances in West Africa than to convictions in Whitehall.

Ghana and Nigeria have to thank the strength and spirit of their national movements, their freedom from privileged White Settler communities, and their distance from the strategic regions of the Cold War for the freedom which has come to them and is coming.

The bad things are so many that it is impossible within my space to note all of them.

Worst was the Suez aggression. Perhaps technically it wasn't a "colonial" crime; British occupation of the Canal zone had ceased earlier and Egypt was independent.

But it was an act of blatant imperialism: a challenge to Egypt's right to control a waterway which passed through its territory, an arrogant claim that British vested interests, economic and political, stood above the well-being of the Egyptian people, an affront to all Africa. Britain's moral standing in the world has not fallen so low since the South African war.

Tale of repression

Then Cyprus. For five years an unnecessary military repression of a people who claimed the right of self-government and self-determination. Their leader, Archbishop Makarios, deported to the Seychelles. Now he is appointed Head of the State! Dr. Hastings Banda in his prison

be a fiction and Dr. Banda innocent, but the Government barefacedly refused to accept the judgment of the Enquiry it had itself set up.

Malta and British Guiana. The Tory Government dissolved the elected Parliaments and suspended the Constitutions. Malta is still governed by the decree of the Governor.

South Africa. The Tory Government has consistently voted against every resolution in the United Nations condemning the Union of South Africa for its apartheid policies.

Election verdict

Algeria. The Tory Government has consistently supported the French Government's military repression and the denial of independence to the Algerian people.

The British electors now have an opportunity to declare their verdict on these shameful happenings. What will they say?

I want to be frank with my friends in the colonies. The General Election will not be decided on these issues.

In most peoples' minds other subjects will loom bigger. This, indeed, reflects the fundamental case against colonialism. The British people, concerned most in their own problems, have no right to govern distant peoples of whose problems they have little knowledge.

I should not like to prophesy the result of the election. One factor which will help the Tories is the comparative prosperity of the British people. The unemployment of a year ago has, except in a few areas, practically disappeared. The Tories will also suggest that their leader, Mr. Harold Macmillan, was the architect of the Summit Talks, although in fact the Opposition pressed for a Summit meeting

and colour," and support for United Nations agencies in removing poverty take my breath away.

Have the Tories suddenly become converted to free nations without discrimination of race in East and Central Africa? Do they think we have forgotten that, with America, they destroyed the project three years ago for a World Fund for underdeveloped countries, on the ground that Britain could not afford a contribution because of our "defence" expenditure?

Labour's policy for the colonies is good, reflecting the advance in opinion within the Party during the last three years.

In the opening speech of the campaign at the TUC, Mr. Gaitskell, the leader, made this categorical statement:

"We shall bring to freedom and independence, on the basis of democracy and racial non-discrimination, the remaining colonies."

The important words are democracy and non-discrimination. That means in East and Central Africa the objective of adult suffrage on a common roll. On this basis, a Labour Government could reach agreement with the African independence movements in these territories and with the Europeans and the Asians sufficiently enlightened to see that full democracy must come.

In greater detail, the Labour Party stands for the right of the peoples of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to decide their own future in relation to Federation, for African majorities in these territories and in Tanganyika, and for a new Constitution in Kenya directed towards democracy without distinction of race. A Labour Government would, of course, end the States of Emergency, release Dr. Banda and other detainees, and insist that no one should be kept in prison without public trial.

In addition, the Labour Party is pledged to lift to £160 millions its economic aid to the underdeveloped countries and to support wholeheartedly the United Nations funds.

There is always the danger that a Labour Government would move too slowly to meet the rising tempo of African demands, but there is now a strong opinion in the Party which will be ceaselessly vigilant on this issue.

A tribute

By Sybil Morrison

THE ONE SURE HOPE

We shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, . . . we shall defend our island whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills, we shall never surrender.—Winston Churchill, June 4, 1940.

IT was hot in Paris, from which enchanting city I have just returned; the sun shone and the evenings were warm under that moon which has been so strangely invaded.

There is a light-heartedness among the Paris crowds and in that city a wonderful freedom from irritating restrictions.

As I sat in the shade of trees, or bright coloured umbrellas, at the pavement tables, I found myself often thinking of those same pavements under the tread of German soldiers, of those same streets, thronged now with tourists and Parisians going about their business, barricaded and fortified with machine guns, and of those same people with their revealing gestures, and their quick-witted repartee, constricted and confined under enemy occupation.

When Churchill made his famous call to the British people to defend themselves at all costs from the foreign invader; when he told us that we would fight in the streets as well as on the beaches and in the hills, it was perhaps not easy, even for those quite determined to do so, to imagine the barricades in Piccadilly or Oxford Street, or to visualise the fortification with soldiers and machine guns of the well-known shops and restaurants.

Sitting in the Paris cafés, wandering in the Boulevards and on the bridges, I thought of it; I looked at people as they passed where I sat and wondered how they had conformed to the restrictions and the constant fears under enemy occupation.

Except for the shabbiness of the streets and buildings, of the aged buses and the dreary, dirty Metro, Parisians would seem to have thrown it off as though it had never been. Nevertheless, this may well be the ignorance of a mere onlooker, and that in fact a mark has been made that leaves an unforgettable scar even on those who did not themselves endure the wound.

waterway which passed through its territory, an arrogant claim that British vested interests, economic and political, stood above the well-being of the Egyptian people, an affront to all Africa. Britain's moral standing in the world has not fallen so low since the South African war.

Tale of repression

Then Cyprus. For five years an unnecessary military repression of a people who claimed the right of self-government and self-determination. Their leader, Archbishop Makarios, deported to the Seychelles. Now he is appointed Head of the State! Dr. Hastings Banda in his prison in Southern Rhodesia should take comfort from that thought.

Kenya. The repeated refusal of the Tory Government to allow a judicial enquiry into the conditions of the detention camps—followed by the appalling tragedy of the eleven Africans beaten to death in Hola camp.

Nyasaland. The rejection of the African claim for majority representation, the regression of the National Congress, the imprisonment of its leaders, the loss of over fifty African lives. The Devlin Commission found the "murder and massacre" plot alleged by the Tory Government to

In most peoples' minds other subjects will loom bigger. This, indeed, reflects the fundamental case against colonialism. The British people, concerned most in their own problems, have no right to govern distant peoples of whose problems they have little knowledge.

I should not like to prophesy the result of the election. One factor which will help the Tories is the comparative prosperity of the British people. The unemployment of a year ago has, except in a few areas, practically disappeared. The Tories will also suggest that their leader, Mr. Harold Macmillan, was the architect of the Summit Talks, although in fact the Opposition pressed for a Summit meeting during months of Tory indifference.

On the other hand, Labour's programme for the future is much bolder than the Tory programme: it has big plans for health, housing, education, old age, leisure and youth. In foreign affairs its proposal for the neutralisation of the areas which are a threat to peace—Germany and Central Europe, the Middle East, South East Asia and the Far East—is the most hopeful approach to thawing the cold war.

Labour has not declared against the production of the H-Bomb as many of us earnestly desired, but it is sincere in wanting to end nuclear tests and to press on with disarmament.

What policies do the two Parties urge for the colonies? In view of the Tory Government's record, the passages in its manifesto declaring for the establishment of "free and sovereign nations," the ending of "all discrimination on grounds of race

overnment would, of course, end the States of Emergency, release Dr. Banda and other detainees, and insist that no one should be kept in prison without public trial.

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There is always the danger that a Labour Government would move too slowly to meet the rising tempo of African demands, but there is now a strong opinion in the Party which will be ceaselessly vigilant on this issue.

A tribute

I wish also to pay tribute to the outspoken attitude of the Liberal Party on colonial issues. The Liberals will probably increase their small group in Parliament by a few Members and these will be added voices for freedom.

Our friends in the colonies can be sure that many of us will keep the colonial issue prominently before the electors. The Movement for Colonial Freedom has organised a series of meetings in the large towns at which Kenyatta Chiume, of the Nyasaland African Congress Executive, and Joshua Nkomo, the President of the Southern Rhodesia National Congress, will be the principal speakers.

For the sake of the colonies, I hope profoundly that Britain will have a new Government on October 8.

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Sitting in the Paris cafés, wandering in the Boulevards and on the bridges, I thought of it; I looked at people as they passed where I sat and wondered how they had conformed to the restrictions and the constant fears under enemy occupation.

Except for the shabbiness of the streets and buildings, of the aged buses and the dreary, dirty Metro, Parisians would seem to have thrown it off as though it had never been. Nevertheless, this may well be the ignorance of a mere onlooker, and that in fact a mark has been made that leaves an unforgettable scar even on those who did not themselves endure the wound.

In this country the enemy must cross the sea, and for long that "moat defensive" has been symbolic to the British of the ultimate deterrent. But now, when the missiles will fly through the air, and the English Channel will have no power even to delay the onslaught, the Britisher is confronted with a totally different prospect, and one not easy to imagine.

In September, 1940, the same year that Churchill made his tremendously effective call to the British people, the first realisation of the Channel's inadequacy as a barrier struck their minds. The falling bombs could not be held off or prevented; there was no real defence against them, but only the bitter barbarity of retaliation in kind.

In those years of the Second World War there was still the possibility of succour; people could be treated for burns and blast; they could even be dug alive out of the rubble of their homes, or their offices and factories. Nuclear bombs, however, are an entirely different category.

The attempts to deceive people as to the effectiveness of so-called Civil Defence has been singularly ineffectual; the building up of rocket bases and stockpiling of nuclear missiles proves that there is no idea of defending persons, but only the one idea of destroying wholesale the persons of other countries.

If there should be a nuclear war there will be little or no chance that twenty years later Parisians or Londoners, Germans or Italians, Russians or Americans will ever again sit in their cafés and restaurants, shop in their streets, and wander in their parks.

A nuclear war must inevitably be the point of no return; clearly the statesmen of the world recognise this, and their attempt to control the monster that resort to war has created, is a tragic sign of their utter lack of vision. It is crystal clear that reliance upon war has brought about this threat to mankind, and that only the abandonment of reliance upon war can save the world. The abolition of war is the one sure hope for the future.

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MEETINGS

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"THREAT OF WAR AND YOUR VOTE." Socialist Party of Great Britain meeting, Hackney Town Hall, Mare St., E.8. Monday, Sept. 21. 7.30 p.m. Speaker: J. Read, Parliamentary Candidate, Bethnal Green. Admission Free.

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"HOW LABOUR GOVERNED 1945–51." Fully documented record of home, colonial and foreign policy—atom bomb, conscription, war in Indonesia. 32pp. "direct action" pamphlet, 8d. post paid from Syndicalist Workers' Federation, 25a Amberley Rd., London, W.9.

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IPSWICH: National CND Week. Mass Mtg. Lge. Co-op Hall, Sept. 17. Colchester: Rally Sept. 19.

Mon., Sept. 14—Sat., Sept. 19

LONDON, S.W.12: 7.30 p.m. Studio Theatre, 12 Balham Pk., Rd., nr. Balham Station. Marghanita Laski's "Offshore Island." Admission free. CND.

STORRINGTON, Sx.: Centre of village, wayside stand. Literature, forms for signature. CND.

Friday, September 18

CHALFONT ST. PETER: 8 p.m. George Inn. Public Mtg. Chair: Mr. A. Harris. CND.

CHATHAM: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall. "The Atomic Choice." Sheila Jones, Pat Arrowsmith. Chair: Gerald Kaufman. Adm. free. CND.

CRAYFORD: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall. Public Mtg. Arthur Goss, Rev. Francis Noble, Ernie Roberts, Clr. Mrs. Renee Short, Chair: Laurie Smith. CND.

GREENWICH: 7.30 p.m. Minor Hall. Public Mtg. Ian Mikardo, M.P., Harry Knight, Arthur Goss, Rev. Francis Noble. Film, choir. Chair: Mervyn Jones. CND.

HALL GREEN: 7.45 p.m. Co-op Room, Stratford Rd., Robin Hood Island. Films. CND.

HUDDERSFIELD: 6.30 p.m. Fraternity Hall, Alfred St. Grand Jumble Sale. CND.

KINGSTON: 8 p.m. Public Library. Film show. "Aldermaston 1959." CND.

LANCASTER: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall. Discussion between H. Berkeley & E. Gardner (prospective Conservative & Labour candidates respectively); also Rev. G. Stone & Dr. E. A. R. Berkeley. CND.

LEICESTER: Friends Mtg. Ho., Queens Rd. Films. Japanese Fishermen, Aldermaston, 1959. CND.

LLANELLY: 7.30 p.m. Public Hall. Public Mtg. Diana Collins, Michael Foot, Gwynfor Evans. Chair: N. Allsup. Tkts. 2s. from 63 Coldstream St. CND.

LONDON, E.17: 8 p.m. Ross Wyld Hall. Film show. CND & Chaplin films. CND.

LONDON, N.1: 8 p.m. Islington Town Hall. Upper St. Public Mtg. John Horner, Martin Dakin, Mrs. Joyce. Chairman: Rev. W. J. Jenner. CND.

LONDON, N.6: 8 p.m. North Hill School, Storey Rd. Rev. R. G. A. Askew, Dr. James CND.

LONDON, N.W.11: 8 p.m. Hodford Rd. Methodist Hall. Films: Aldermaston, 1959, etc. CND.

PORTSMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Wesley Central Hall, Fratton Rd. Peace Caravan Film—The Caravan's journey through 16 European countries. CND.

ROCHESTER: Market Place. Sale of literature & Public Mtg. Speaker: Biddy Youngday. CND.

SALISBURY: 7.30 p.m. Hale Hall, Bedwin St. "To Vote or Not to Vote?" Conservative, Labour & Liberal speakers. Austin Underwood for CND. Discussion. WEA.

SEVENOAKS: 8 p.m. Kings Hall (opp. Bus Stn.) Piano Recital. Denis Matthews. Tkts. 5s. from Sevenoaks Bookshop, 147 High St. CND.

STEVENAGE: 5.30 p.m. The Square, New Town Centre. Open-air meeting. CND.

SWANSEA: 7 p.m. Central Library. Antoinette Pirie, Cadifor Evans. Film "Aldermaston 1959." CND.

TEDDINGTON: 8 p.m. 31 Elmfield Av. Social Evening. Display & sale of materials. CND.

WOLVERHAMPTON: Christ Church, Waterloo Rd. Service, Rev. R. Bowdler. CND.

WORCESTER: 7.30 p.m. Guildhall. Mtg. Donald Soper. Chair: Harold Steele. CND.

Saturday, September 19

ASHFORD, Mddx.: 7.30 p.m. Congregational Church. Public Mtg. & forum. "The Cross and the Bomb." Chair: Rev. P. Case. Speakers: Rev. R. W. Carter, Rev. G. W. Norgett, Rev. A. David Pirie, Mr. H. W. Williams, Mr. J. D. Jackson.

ROSS-ON-WYE: 8 p.m. Methodist Hall, Rev. R. L. Billington. Film "Shadow of Hiroshima."

DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.

2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (half, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. The Library Theatre. Play: "A Rocket for the Governor." Tkts. from R. Kitchen, 3 Godstone Rd., Rotherham. CND.

SOUTH SHIELDS: Pier Parade. Market Stall all day. 3 p.m. Open-air Mtg. CND.

STAINES: 10 a.m.—4 p.m. Town Hall. "Let Britain Lead" picture exhibition. Adm. free CND.

STEVENAGE: 3 p.m. The Square, New Town Centre. Open-air Mtg. CND.

SWANSEA: 10.45 a.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Protest March. CND.

TWICKENHAM: 3 p.m. Church Grove (nr. Kingston Bridge). Car Parade around Borough. CND.

WELWYN GDN. CITY: Protest March. Campus: 2.30 p.m. Gooseacre 3.30 p.m. Campus 4.30 p.m. Speeches at these points. CND.

YORK: 3 p.m. Castle Museum. Poster Parade through York. CND.

Sunday, September 20

CARSHALTON BEECHES: 3 p.m. 17 Hill Rd. "Peace News" Speaker: Hugh Brock. PPU.

HEREFORD: 8 p.m. Youth Mtg. Film "March to Aldermaston" and speaker. Refreshments. CND.

KINTON: 8 p.m. Church Hall. Speakers, Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." CND.

LIVERPOOL: 3 p.m. Lecture Hall, Walker Art Gallery. Mtg. Dr. J. Boss, M. J. Moore. "Survival or Catastrophe—The Facts About Radiation." Chair: Dr. Grace Bowen, JP. Socialist Medical Assn.

LONDON, E.C.1: 6.30 p.m. City Temple Church Service. Preacher: Canon Collins.

LONDON, W.1: 3 p.m. Speakers Corner, Hyde Park. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 4 p.m. Trafalgar Sq. Rally. Earl Russell, Canon Collins, Michael Foot, Victor Goollancz, John Horner, Dr. Soper. Followed by a march. CND.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 12 noon. Harringtons Cafe, Five Ways. Area Mtg. 2.30 p.m. Open Mtg. Disc., "Our Pacifism—Some Difficulties." Bring and Buy Stall. Bring picnic lunch. PPU.

WHITELEY BAY: 4 p.m. Panama Gdns. Regional Rally & Public Mtg. (South Shields & Dist. leave Harbour View, North Shields, at 2.30 p.m.) CND.

WYTHENSHAWE: 6.30 p.m. Baguley Hall Methodist Church, Bowland Rd. Service, Rev. W. R. Wilkinson, Rev. J. J. Vincent. CND.

YORK: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Clifford St. "Radiation & Life." Prof. P. G. Espinasse, Dr. A. J. Shillitoe. Chair: Harry Hanson. CND.

Monday, September 21

LEDBURY: 7.30 p.m. Market Hall. Speakers. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." CND.

LONDON, S.E.1: 11 p.m. Royal Festival Hall. Midnight Matinée. A 2½ hour Night of Stars supporting the Campaign including: Peggy Ashcroft, Cecil Day-Lewis, Gerard Hoffnung, Miles Malleson, Jill Balcon, Benjamin Britten, Constance Cummings, Denis Matthews, John Neville, Peter Pears, Sir Michael Redgrave, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Stanley Unwin, etc. Tkts. 5s., 7s., 6d., 10s., 15s., £1. Boxes (5 seats) £3 15s. & £6 5s. Available from CND. 143 Fleet St. E.C.4.

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. Tribunal for COs. Public admitted.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 Endsleigh St. 6 p.m. Refreshments. 6.30 p.m. Hilda von Klenze just returned from USA tour. Questions & Discussion. Central London PPU.

Tuesday, September 22

LONDON, S.W.14: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd. "Pacifists & the General Election." Dr. A. D. Belden, DD. PPU.

ROSS-ON-WYE: 8 p.m. Methodist Hall, Rev. R. L. Billington. Film "Shadow of Hiroshima."

PEACE NEWS, September 18, 1959—11

Sunday, September 27

LONDON, W.C.1: 11 a.m.—1 p.m., 2 p.m.—4 p.m. Gandhi Mem. Hall, 41 Fitzroy Sq. PPU Conf. for members working in and through CND & DAC. Apply tkts. 2s., PPU, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Tuesday, September 29

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. All PPU members welcome. London Area PPU. **WYTHENSHAWE:** 8 p.m. Baguley Hall Methodist Church, Bowland Rd. "The Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy." Discussion led by Mr. Broadbridge and Mr. Williams. CND.

Wednesday, September 30

RUGBY: 7.30 p.m. Brotherhood Hall, Castle St. Public Forum on International Affairs. James Johnson, MP, Simon Goldblatt, Sybil Morrison, Allen Skinner. Chair: Raymond Rowse. PPU.

Friday, October 2—Sunday, October 4

MERTHYR TYDFIL: Conference, "Aspects of Hinduism." Swami Ayyakananda. Fellowship of Friends of Truth, Garthnewydd Community Ho., Merthyr Tydfil.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

BRADFORD: 8 p.m. Hall Ings Car Park. Open Air Mtg. Bradford PYAG.

GLASGOW: Sundays 8 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd., Open Air Forum; PPU.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

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GT. BANGKOK

GT. BANGKOK

32pp direct action pamphlet, 8d post paid from Syndicalist Workers' Federation, 25a Amberley Rd., London, W.9.

"LIBERTE" the French pacifist monthly, 16s. a year post free from Housmans Bookshop, 5 Cavendish Road, King's Cross, London, N.1.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends Home Service Ctee., Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

SITUATIONS VACANT

COMPOSITOR (TU) wanted for small Printers (E.C.I.). Permanency and good wages for efficient man. (Managing Director a pacifist). Box 828.

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- ★ DAVID ROSS:
Life & Logic of John Foster Dulles
- ★ E. P. THOMPSON:
The New Left
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ROCKEFELLER: Market St., Market St. & Public Mtg. Speaker: Biddy Youngday. CND.

SALISBURY: 7.30 p.m. Hale Hall, Bedwin St "To Vote or Not to Vote?" Conservative, Labour & Liberal speakers. Austin Underwood for CND. Discussion WEA.

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TEDDINGTON: 8 p.m. 31 Elmfield Av. Social Evening. Display & sale of materials CND.

WOLVERHAMPTON: Christ Church, Waterloo Rd. Service, Rev. R. Bowdler. CND.

WORCESTER: 7.30 p.m. Guildhall. Mtg. Donald Soper. Chair: Harold Steele. CND.

Saturday, September 19

ASHFORD, Mddx.: 7.30 p.m. Congregational Church. Public Mtg. & forum "The Cross and the Bomb." Chair: Rev. P. Case. Speakers: Rev. R. W. Carter, Rev. G. W. Norgett, Rev. A. David Hatton, Rev. H. W. Gurney, Axel Landmann. Refreshments. Christian Action.

BIRMINGHAM: Inner Circle March; Small Heath Pk. 10 a.m., Aston Pk. 1-2 p.m., Recreation Ground opp. Rotton Pk., to Town Hall 7 p.m. Public mtg. at 7.30 p.m. John Horner, Wallace Lawler, Rev. Michael Scott. CND.

BLACKPOOL: 2.30 p.m. South Pier. March for rally on sands near Central Pier (3.30 p.m.) Pamela Frankau, Ritchie Calder, Rev. R. J. Billington. CND.

BOURNEMOUTH: 4 p.m. Moordown, March via Winton, Horseshoe Common, Pier Approach, Bournemouth main square to Town Hall—7 p.m. main rally. Speakers: Benn Levy, John Braine, Percy Belcher. Contingents from SR of CND join march at Horseshoe Common 5.15 p.m. Coach seats from Mrs. Eavis, Cooper's Farm, Lawrence Ln., Thatcham. CND.

BRISTOL: March through City in afternoon. Meeting Colston Hall in evening. CND.

COLCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Moot Hall. Victor Gollancz. Ipswich coaches leave Electric Ho. 5.45 p.m. Phone: Ipswich 78713. CND.

CRAWLEY: 2.30-3 p.m. March around centre of New Town. Open-air mtg. Canon Collins, Mervyn Jones. CND.

EXETER: 2.30 p.m. Social Centre for the Blind, South St. Rally & Poster Parade. CND.

GREENWICH: 2.45 p.m. Cutty Sark Gdns. Poster Parade to A.W.R.E., Woolwich Common. CND.

HUDDERSFIELD: Trip to York in support of Yorks Regional Demonstration. (Phone: Milnsbridge 1733.) CND.

KINGSTON: 2.30 p.m. Church Grove, Hampton Wick, nr. Kingston Bridge. March & Rally CND.

LIVERPOOL: 3.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Hunter St. March to Cathedral then to Pierhead—Approx. 4.30 p.m. open-air mtg. CND.

LLANELLY: 12 noon. Town Hall. Bus Party leaves for National Rally at Cardiff. Partics., 63 Coldstream St. CND.

LONDON, E.17: 10 a.m.—5 p.m. Ross Wyld Hall. Exhibition & Films. CND.

LONDON, N.W.2: 3 p.m. Gaumont, Cricklewood. Poster Parade towards Kilburn. 4 p.m. Kilburn Sq. Open-air Mtg. Dr. A. D. Belden, Rev. W. Povey. Chair: Mrs. Biddy Youngday. CND.

LONDON, W.10: 2 p.m.—4 p.m. Car Parade followed by open-air mtg. in Portobello Rd. Phone BAY 2223 for details. CND.

NORWICH: 2 p.m. Slough Bottom, Drayton Rd. March. 4 p.m. Lad's Club, King St. Rally. Victor Gollancz, Arthur Goss, Martin Dakin, Dr. Derrick James. CND.

PLYMOUTH: 3 p.m. Athenaeum Pl. (nr. ABC Cinema). Open-air mtg. Bryan Weston, Ralph Ackroyd, Mrs. E. Tate, F. O. Jones, Reg Scott CND.

ROTHERHAM: 10 a.m.—5 p.m. Market St. (literature). Speaker: Frank Henry. CND.

SEVENOAKS: 10 a.m.—9 p.m. Small Hall, Bligh's Hotel. "The H-Bomb & You." Free exhibition. No children under 16 adm. CND.

LEDBURY: 7.30 p.m. Market Hall. Speakers. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." CND.

LONDON, S.E.1: 11 p.m. Royal Festival Hall. Midnight Matinée. A 2½ hour Night of Stars supporting the Campaign including: Peggy Ashcroft, Cecil Day-Lewis, Gerard Hoffnung, Miles Malleson, Jill Balcon, Benjamin Britten, Constance Cummings, Denis Matthews, John Neville, Peter Pears, Sir Michael Redgrave, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Stanley Unwin, etc. Tkt. 5s., 7s., 6d., 10s., 15s., £1. Boxes (5 seats) £3 15s. & £6 5s. Available from CND, 143 Fleet St. E.C.4.

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Wednesday, September 23

HEREFORD: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall, No. 1 Cttee Room. Films, "Japanese Fishermen" & "Aldermaston 1959." CND.

Thursday, September 24

LEOMINSTER: 8 p.m. Adult School. Speakers. Film, "Shadow of Hiroshima." CND.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho., Bush Rd. "The Poet Shelley." Group Discussion. PPU.

LONDON, N.W.3: 8 p.m. 47 Netherhall Gdns. (Flat 7). Irene Jacoby "Visit of Young Friends to Russia." PPU.

Friday, September 25

HEREFORD: 8 p.m. Town Hall. Final Rally. Bishop of Llandaff. Chair: E. R. Wood. CND.

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THE GENERAL ELECTION

Not many people will have a chance to vote for unilateral total disarmament in this Election. But some will — because the **FELLOWSHIP PARTY** is putting up candidates. The number will depend on how much support pacifists are ready to give to this electoral demonstration of the will of the ordinary people for peace. If every Peace News reader gives five shillings there will be 30 candidates putting the case for non-violence at the hustings.

The first prospective candidate has already been adopted — **Ron Malone** (P.P.U. member and wartime CO) for **Woolwich West**. His Agent will welcome offers of help — canvassing, addressing letters, car-driving, etc. — at the address below.

This intervention cannot be strong enough to affect Labour's chance of forming a government — this time. But it must be strong enough to show the politicians that the movement for peace is strong enough to win the people's votes. Help us to show the Party leaders that the people are determined to have peace, by sending your contribution to:

Lady Clare Annesley, Fellowship Party Election Fund,
c/o 154 Droop Street, London, W.10



1212 Sept. 18, 1959 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

H-BOMB FALL-OUT New report starts new debate

No menace

—THE TIMES

THE question of the damage done by radio-active fall-out from nuclear test explosions has come up for debate once more.

At the British Association's meeting in York on Tuesday last week a paper was read which, in the view of the Science Correspondent of The Times (London), blew the "supposed menace of radio-active fall-out . . . as nearly sky high as a thermonuclear explosion."

Less confidence was expressed in the News Chronicle on the following day when Ritchie Calder, science writer, suggested that the authors of the paper—three experts from the National Institute of Cancer research—were "posing more questions than they have answered." In an editorial the newspaper said:

"This astonishing rejection of the fears expressed by so many able scientists must leave the layman bewildered if hopeful. While there now seems no justification for making the voters' flesh creep with tales of the effects of tests there is still no ground for complacency. Lord Attlee's plea that 'posterity should be given the benefit of the doubt' holds good."

Is there danger?

Of the conclusions reached by the three experts from the National Institute of Cancer Research, based on figures obtained from the examination of thousands of specimens of bones, human and animal tissues, food and other materials over a period of two years, The Times correspondent wrote:

Their main points are that a typical high-carbohydrate British diet contains amounts of radium and thorium equivalent in their effect to some 300 times the present intake of strontium-90 from nuclear explosions; that the amounts of radium and thorium eaten by three or four members of a single family could vary by several times or even a thousand times according to their individual tastes

tables whose radium and thorium content could hardly be measured the range of activity was more than 20,000 to one; that an anti-nausea preparation for pregnant women contained 50,000 times as much radio-active material as the present intake of strontium-90 from food; that there were variations of as much as 10 to one even in a sample of 70 human bones; that the amounts found in the bones of still born children differed little from adults; that the soft tissues of the body, which in the past have been ignored, contribute one-quarter of the body's total content of radium and thorium; and that herbivorous animals, headed by Welsh sheep and Sahara camels, have up to 60 times as much in their bones as man.

In his article in the News Chronicle on Sept. 10, Ritchie Calder, who heard the paper read at the British Association, finds "This spelling out of carefully measured facts is not reassuring," and writes:

After all, if we have been blissfully digesting and storing natural radio-activity from our natural foodstuffs, a salting of fall-out might not make much difference.

But I remembered that great bio-chemist Sir Gowland Hopkins talking to me about the living processes: "Every new fact we find reminds us of the facts we have not found. Our units are measurements not only of our knowledge, but of our ignorance."

And here they were telling us how for

How you can vote against the Bomb

"HOW to use your vote against nuclear war" is the subject of a 1,500 word statement issued in pamphlet form* this week by the

We don't know

—RITCHIE CALDER

the first time they had metered the radio-activity which is present in, or acquired by, the human body.

But the first atom bombs were dropped 14 years ago and since then all kinds of "scientific" statements have been made—and not only by scientific "alarmists" or ignorant laymen, but by professional hired reassurers as well.

Now we were told that almost everything that had been said has been based on pure guess-work solemnly propounded.

There were no techniques of accurate measurement, such as those which were evolved in those experiments.

All kinds of assumptions were made. All kinds of pronouncements were made, and not, let it be repeated, only by those who were alarmed about man-made radiation hazards.

Over confidence?

Having heard the accounts of the methods, I do not doubt that the results are reliable—as far as they have gone.

What they were measuring was natural radiation—the activity man has lived with since his beginnings. This, very properly, is the base-line from which any assessment of the additional effects of man-made radiation must be made.

And when it is found that a quarter pound of Brazil nuts contains as much radio-activity as is found in the average human body, and that a stone of those nuts surpasses the "maximum permissible dosage" in the lifetime of a worker

occupationally engaged on radio-active materials, it makes one think.

They also found that a change of a brand of breakfast cereal would make a ten-fold difference in the amount of radio-activity in a three-year-old boy's diet.

Here is a question which needs pursuing because we know that fall-out has added to the radiation level in Middle Western wheat.

We know that in the Brazilian Amazon the yucca plant, which is the staple food of the Indians, is six times more radioactive than the world average.

In fact, despite the confidence that the Institute of Cancer Research have in their measurements, I would respectfully suggest that they are posing more questions than they have answered.

In this business of adding man-made radiation to the natural background we are dickering with food-cycles and life-cycles about which, as those very researches have shown, we know very little.

Let us have the measurements, but let us have wisdom as well.

The paper read at the British Association was prepared by Prof. W. V. Mayneord, a member of the Medical Research Council Committee on the Hazard to Man, and two physicists who work under him at the Institute of Cancer Research, London, Drs. Turner and Radley.

Ritchie Calder, former News Chronicle Science Editor, is a member of the Executive of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and a Vice-Chairman of the National Peace Council.

recommends the following procedure on October 8:

"When polling day comes it will be of value if those who are in favour of the unconditional renunciation of the H-

of the conclusions reached by the three experts from the National Institute of Cancer Research, based on figures obtained from the examination of thousands of specimens of bones, human and animal tissues, food and other materials over a period of two years, The Times correspondent wrote:

Their main points are that a typical high-carbohydrate British diet contains amounts of radium and thorium equivalent in their effect to some 300 times the present intake of strontium-90 from nuclear explosions; that the amounts of radium and thorium eaten by three or four members of a single family could vary by several times or even a thousand times according to their individual tastes in food; that most of the radio-active material that goes into the body comes out again within 48 hours; and that they find no evidence that it accumulates with age, as has often been said.

Where then, they ask, is the menace of strontium-90?

"If the present level of strontium-90 in food in this country represents a radiation hazard—and it apparently does to the armchair calculator—then the whole process of eating food must be regarded as highly dangerous," they reply.

Facts and irony

The mystery lay in how the content of radium and thorium in the body was kept so low. There must exist a remarkable mechanism which maintained a state of radio-active balance from early life onwards.

Some of the facts assembled by Professor Mayneord and his colleagues have been published before. Now they draw conclusions pointed with irony. They spoke of political and pseudo-scientific arguments in the Press, on radio and television, depending on the political flavour of those concerned, and pointed out that the diametrically opposite views that had been expressed had been made possible only by an almost complete absence of knowledge of the levels of naturally occurring radio-activity existing in and around mankind throughout his evolution up to the present time.

Other points were that four ounces of brazil nuts contained three times as much radium and thorium as the entire bone and soft tissues of a normal adult; that between brazil nuts and fruits and vege-

tal-out might not make much difference. But I remembered that great bio-chemist Sir Gowland Hopkins talking to me about the living processes: "Every new fact we find reminds us of the facts we have not found. Our units are measurements not only of our knowledge, but of our ignorance."

And here they were telling us how for

is the base-line from which any assessment of the additional effects of man-made radiation must be made.

And when it is found that a quarter pound of Brazil nuts contains as much radio-activity as is found in the average human body, and that a stone of those nuts surpasses the "maximum permissible dosage" in the lifetime of a worker

Committee on the Hazard to Man, and two physicists who work under him at the Institute of Cancer Research, London, Drs. Turner and Radley.

Ritchie Calder, former News Chronicle Science Editor, is a member of the Executive of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and a Vice-Chairman of the National Peace Council.

How you can vote against the Bomb

"HOW to use your vote against nuclear war" is the subject of a 1,500 word statement issued in pamphlet form* this week by the "No Votes for the Bomb Campaign."

The Campaign's programme was adopted by a meeting of forty supporters in Friends House, London, last Saturday.

They point out that a vote given to any candidate of the main parties "will be giving him your mandate to continue to manufacture, stockpile and—in certain eventualities—to use the H-bomb."

Those who favour a policy of unconditional nuclear disarmament will waste their vote if they cast it for any one of the main parties.

"The most effective use for a vote in these circumstances," they say, "is to withhold the vote, making it known at every available opportunity why it is being withheld."

They suggest the following course of action:

1. Write to each candidate asking him if he is willing to vote against the manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons by Britain.

*2d. each from the "No Votes for the Bomb Campaign," 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Labour has changed

"THERE are supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament as well as pacifists who think that support at the General Election should be given to the Labour Party as being the most likely ultimately to reach the decision to renounce the H-bomb.

"This sentiment is largely based on the tradition left behind by the lives and views of early leaders such as Keir Hardie, Dr. Salter and George Lansbury. There is now very little left of this tradition.

2. Make it clear that you are not asking that he shall abstain in the division but that he shall cast a definite vote against the manufacture and stockpiling of these weapons whenever opportunity offers (unless the home address of the candidate is known send the letters marked "Personal" to the chief committee room).

3. If you are one of a local group who take this view, try to make arrangements to see the candidate; but do not let this be a substitute for the writing of letters.

4. If a reply is received from the candidate expressing general sympathy for your views, write again making it clear that it is an explicit undertaking to vote against nuclear weapons you are asking for, even if necessary in defiance of the Party Whip.

TELL CANVASSERS

5. Explain the action you are taking to canvassers who call on you.

6. On failing to get the undertaking required from your candidate, write again telling him that you propose to spoil your ballot paper as the only means open to you of voting for the policy you hold to be important.

7. Write to your local newspaper
The "No Vote for the Bomb Campaign"

"Labour Party participation in two world wars, the share of its leadership in the dropping of the Hiroshima bomb, the Labour decision to place post-war armaments expenditure at a level never known before, the decision to make the British H-bomb, the invitation to the USA to establish bomber bases for nuclear weapons in Britain—these things have nothing in common with the anti-militarism of the Labour Movement in its pioneering days."—No Votes for the Bomb Campaign.

recommends the following procedure on October 8:

"When polling day comes it will be of value if those who are in favour of the unconditional renunciation of the H-bomb will act in unity. The procedure is quite simple:

"You obtain your ballot paper at the polling station in the usual way. Instead of putting a cross against the name of one of the candidates, however, you write something on the ballot-paper which has the effect of "spoiling" it for voting purposes.

PERFECTLY LEGAL

"It is hardly necessary to add that this is a perfectly legal thing to do.

"It is suggested that you should endorse your paper 'Against Nuclear Weapons.' If you are a pacifist and the objection to nuclear weapons does not satisfy you, your endorsement might be 'Against War Preparation'."

They point out that such papers will not be cast aside unnoticed.

"Considerable attention is frequently given to spoiled ballot papers especially in marginal constituencies. Scrutineers are not only anxious to see whether the ballot papers have been correctly disallowed by the Returning Officer, but are interested to know why the ballot papers have been spoiled. An abnormal number will make a deep impression on local politicians attending the count."

"No Votes for the Bomb" gives its support to minority party and independent candidates standing for disarmament. "Such candidates will themselves be denying votes to the candidates of the parties pledged to nuclear weapons. Where no such candidate is available a similar object is achieved by spoiling the ballot paper."

The Campaign is being organised by Wallace Hancock with the support of a number of nuclear disarmament campaigners and pacifists.